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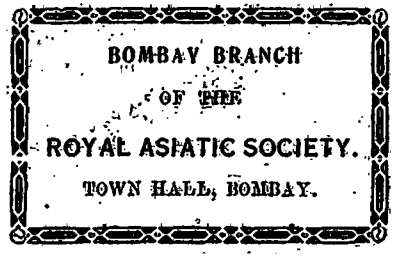

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THE REGENCY

OF

ANNE OF AUSTRIA.

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ANN OF AUSTRIA.

(During the Regency)

London. Tinsley Brothers.

THE REGENCY

OF

ANNE OF AUSTRIA,

QUEEN REGENT OF FRANCE, MOTHER OF LOUIS XIV.

FROM NUMEROUS UNPUBLISHED SOURCES,

INCLUDING MSS. IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE IMPÉRIALE, AND THE ARCHIVES DU ROYAUME DE FRANCE, ETC., ETC.

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BY

MARTHA WALKER FREER,

Author of "The Married Life of Anne of Austria;" "The Life of Marguérite d'Angoulême Queen of Navarre;" "The Court and Times of Henri III., King of France and Poland;" "The Life of Henri Quatre," &c., &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE

REGENCY OF ANNE OF AUSTRIA.

INTRODUCTION.

1643.

At St. Germain-en-Laye, on Ascension Day, May 14, 1643, Louis Treize, King of France, and Navarre, expired.

The Queen, Anne Marie Mauricette of Austria, Infanta of Spain, was led from the death chamber by her brother-in-law the Duke of Orleans, and by Louis de Bourbon, Prince de Condé. The Queen carried a little crucifix in her hand; her tears flowed, but her face was partially concealed by a veil. She was attended by Madame de Brassac, and by her high chamberlain, the Duke d'Usez. At the door of her oratory, Queen Anne dismissed the princes with a distant salutation.

The chamber of the King was crowded by the ministers and court functionaries, and by many prelates, who were all present to certify the death of Louis Treize. An expression of anxious doubt was visible on the faces of all these personages. M. de Chavigny, secretary of state, and the tried friend of the late Cardinal de Riche-

lieu, discoursed in a low voice with the Chancellor of France, Pierre de Séguier, whose pale and sad face was puckered with anxiety. The young Duc de Beaufort, Antoine de Vendôme Bourbon, retired into the recess of a window, and from thence watched curiously the actions of the Duc de Liancour, first lord of the chamber, who was giving directions in a low voice, and eager gesture to Dubois, the faithful *valet de chambre* of the late King. Apart from the throng stood Mathieu Molé, first president of the Parliament of Paris; who was absorbed apparently, in reflections not of the most cheering description, to judge from the expression of his lofty brow, and fine features. On the magnificent terraces below, crowds of persons watched, waiting for the proclamation of the new reign.

At a few minutes past three o'clock in the afternoon, a window of the royal chamber opened, and the Duke of Orleans, the Prince de Condé, M. de Chavigny, the Chancellor de Séguier, stepped out on a balcony, and proclaimed the accession of Louis Quatorze, and the Regency of the Queen-mother Anne of Austria, under the control of a council of Regency, composed of the Cardinal de Mazarin, the Duke of Orleans, the Prince de Condé, the veteran secretary of state Boutillier, and of his son, M. de Chavigny.

But in order duly to appreciate the effect of this declaration on the public mind, it will be necessary briefly to review the important events of the previous five months of the reign of Louis Treize.

The administration of the Cardinal de Richelieu—terminated by the death of this great minister during the

last month of the year 1642—had raised the despotic power of the crown of France, to an altitude never before attained under the most arbitrary of her sovereigns. This dominion was acquired by the humiliation of the great nobles of the realm; and by a stern repression of the ambitious aspirations of the municipal bodies, and of the Parliaments of the realm. The wars of the League, which raged during the reign of Henry III. and during the first ten years of the reign of Henri Quatre, terminated after great concessions on the part of the crown; the King granting governments, and hereditary charges, as guarantees of his *bienveillance*, to the late rebel nobles. Under the troubled Regency of Marie de' Medici these encroachments on the power and pre-eminence of the crown had multiplied. The Queen, and her favourite minister Concini Marquis d'Ancre, had no sooner disposed of the arrogant pretensions of one of these rebel lords, by arms or by concession, than another malcontent arose to prefer, and if requisite, to enforce his demands. The Duc de Bouillon defied the government in his fortress of Sédan; the Duc de Nevers raised the standard of revolt in Champagne; the Rohans threatened from their strongholds in Bretagne, La Rochelle, and in Béarn; Montmorency dictated to the crown from Languedoc; and the Duc d'Epernon suppressed every manifestation of royal authority, so far as it suited his interest, in the provinces of Guyenne, Angoulême, Limousin, and Provence. The princes of the blood, the Prince de Condé and the Count de Soissons, declared themselves the unrelenting enemies of the House of Vendôme; the head of which was the

illegitimate son of Henri Quatre, and of Gabrielle d'Estrées; and whose enormous wealth they averred, had been fraudulently abstracted from the coffers of the state; and from lands hitherto regarded as the patrimony of the royal princes. The Huguenots of the realm audaciously defied the royal power; pardoned in many an usurpation by their former chieftain Henri Quatre, these dissidents, strong in their fortresses of La Rochelle, Saumur, Montauban and others, obeyed the mandates of the crown only after these edicts had been sanctioned by their synods; the which arrogated the privilege of negotiating leagues with foreign princes. On the advent to power of the Cardinal de Richelieu, France was thus the prey of faction; the crown being compelled, in order to extort obedience even to its most patriotic edict, to strengthen itself by alliance with one or other of the rebel powers in the ascendant. By degrees the genius, the firmness, and the fortune of the great minister prevailed over every obstacle. The overthrow of Marie de' Medici and her adherents, paved the way for innumerable confiscations, and resumptions, of the royal prerogatives. The great nobles thus despoiled, joined the standard of the Queen-mother, and of her son, the Duke of Orleans. Monsieur, being the most pusillanimous and selfish of men, defeated in all his intended rebellions, made his peace with the crown by abandoning his allies: the princes, therefore, who formerly dictated terms to the government, fled before the wrath of their sovereign, and lived in exile at foreign courts. To compass the overthrow of their enemy, and their own subsequent

restoration to their powers and privileges, countless guilty projects were matured for the invasion of their country by Spanish armies. The Queen, Anne of Austria, then the bitter foe of Richelieu, alienated in her relations with Louis XIII., became the ally, and hope of the banished lords. The charms of the Queen, her skilful intrigues and dissimulation, rendered the path of the minister thorny, and hazardous. The Queen's friend and confederate was the Duchesse de Chevreuse, Marie de Rohan, a princess of great parts, shrewd, brave, nurtured in political intrigue, witty, and beautiful. Her chief allies were the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, the Ducs de Montmorency and de Bellegarde, George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, Henri de Tallyrand Prince de Chalais, and many other noble and illustrious cavaliers. The strong arm of Richelieu, however, suppressed intrigue; the Queen's adherents, all personal and political opponents of the minister, including Monsieur himself, were driven from the capital, some perishing on the scaffold; others, like Madame de Chevreuse, became exiles at foreign courts, pining in penury, and vain regrets. After the mysterious investigations at the convent of the Val de Grâce in 1637, concerning Anne's communications with the foes of France, and the subsequent birth of the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XIV., in 1638, Richelieu succeeded in converting the Queen herself, from an inveterate foe, into a confidential ally.* Anne, however, dared not, or was purposely prevented from manifesting this change in her policy, and friendships.

* See Married Life of Anne of Austria, vol. ii.

Though her former friends marvelled at Anne's coldness, and her sudden distaste for cabal against her husband's government, so convinced were they, nevertheless, of her fealty to the interests of the despoiled vassals of the crown, and of her hereditary hatred of the liberal innovations of the minister, that they persisted in making her the depositary of their designs against the life, and administration of Richelieu. Through revelations made by the Queen, it is more than surmised, that Richelieu discovered the secret of the conspiracy of the Marquis de Cinq Mars, which resulted in the still more arbitrary establishment of his own power. The history of the Married Life of Anne of Austria is a study which must necessarily precede the History of her Regency; during which the Queen, emerging from the shadows which enveloped her during the reign of Louis XIII., grasps the sceptre of France with a power and vigour, surprising alike to her friends, and to the nation.

About the period of his reconciliation with Anne of Austria, Richelieu secured the services of Giulio Mazzarini, who was then Vice-Legate of Avignon, and papal Nuncio Extraordinary, sent by his Holiness, Urban VIII., to negotiate peace between the crowns of France and Spain; specially also, on a secret mission to treat for the restoration of the duchy of Lorraine to its banished Duke, Charles IV. The genius of this new ally was, in its own order, as wonderful as that of Richelieu; the latter dominated by the force of an intellect vast in conception beyond the level of the age in which he lived; tenacious of purpose, intrepid in action, and of subtle

resource. Mazarin excelled in the power—which also carried him to the summit of his ambition—of persuasion, perseverance, and long-suffering without vindictiveness. His education, with all its subtle theories, sophisms, and classical lore, had been perfected at the university of Alcalà. His command of his own native Italian, and of the Spanish tongue was perfect; and few orators surpassed him in the gift of eloquence. His temper was sweet and unruffled, his self-possession faultless, his personal appearance handsome and distinguished; and his manner partook of the stately grace derived from his Spanish associations, mingled with the insinuating deference of deportment, which distinguished the highly-bred cavalier of Italy. By each of his early patrons Mazarin was beloved; and each used the utmost influence at command for the promotion of his fortune. With the learned, Giulio Mazzarini developed the truly wonderful resources of his mind, and transported his hearers by the eloquence of his wit, by the aptitude of his quotations, and by the stores of learning treasured by his prodigious memory. With the libertine, Mazarin was no less a welcome companion, though refraining from great personal excesses. He could laugh, rhyme, sing, relate gallant adventures, whether true, or composed on the spur of the moment, fence, and frolic. With women his popularity was immense: he had access to the ear of the greatest ladies in Rome—being most especially favoured by the nieces of his Holiness. Richelieu governed France in spite of the dislike, and opposition of the multitude: Mazarin had the art, sooner or later of converting his foes into partisans.

Giulio Mazzarini was born at Piscina, in the Abruzzi, on the 14th of July, 1602. His grandfather, Piero Baptiste Mazzarini, was a subordinate *employé* in the service of the papal court; the most important service with which he ever was associated being, the mission to carry to Henri Quatre the dispensation legalising the marriage of Madame Catherine de Bourbon, sister of the King, with the Duc de Bar, heir of Lorraine. The mother of Mazarin was Ortensia Buffalini, a woman of great beauty and strength of character. His first patrons were the princes of the house of Colonna, who procured him a commission in the papal army, then invading the Valteline. He soon, however, forsook a military career, and returning to Rome, obtained the patronage of the Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barbarini, nephews of Pope Urban, as the reward of a clever summary of the pending war, which he composed, and presented to these prelates. Through this powerful protection, Mazarin procured the appointment of secretary to Giovanni Francesco Sachetti, sent by the Pope to the court of the new Duke of Mantua, Charles Duc de Nevers, to whom, being a subject of France, the Emperor Ferdinand II. refused the investiture of the duchy. In the sanguinary war which ensued, Mazarin displayed extraordinary abilities in diplomacy, gaining the confidence in turn of each of the belligerent powers;* and proving himself invaluable as a writer of despatches, which he had the privilege of addressing direct to his patron, Cardinal Antonio Bar-

* Aubéry: Vie du Cardinal de Mazarin. Gualdo: Vita del Cardinale Mazzarini. Bassompierre: Journal de ma Vie, année 1630.

barini, who at this period, presided as nuncio at the court of Turin. Louis XIII. was at length induced to espouse the cause of the oppressed Duke of Mantua; and in 1630, the armies of France, under the conduct of the King in person, and his minister Richelieu, marched to relieve the town, and fortress of Casale. Mazarin was then delegated by the nuncio and by the Duke of Savoy to meet the French court at Lyons, to deprecate this proposed campaign; and to make proposals to avert a war between France, and the courts of Spain, and Austria. The mission of Mazarin was unsuccessful; personally, however, it secured to him the realisation of his ambitious aspirations. Introduced by Richelieu to the Queen, Anne of Austria,* he obtained favourable notice by his enthusiasm for her native Spain; the easy, though deferential deportment of the young envoy pleased Louis XIII.; while Richelieu, struck by his subtle suggestions, warmly expressed his appreciation. The war which ensued was brought to an unexpected issue by the zeal and diplomacy of Mazarin, who ably seconded the policy of Richelieu; and finally obtained terms, signed at Quierasco, highly favourable to France; and which were eventually embodied in the treaty of peace concluded at Ratisbon, October 13th, 1630, between the King of France, and the Emperor Ferdinand II.

As a reward for his services, the Pope, previously admitting Mazarin into orders as an *abbato*, nominated him Vice-Legate in Avignon, under his old patron, Cardinal Antonio Barbarini; an appointment which was soon followed by the temporary dignity of nuncio

* Married Life of Anne of Austria, vol. i., p. 211.

extraordinary to the court of France, where it was believed that his favour with Richelieu might promote the designs of the Papal court.

Before he left Rome, Mazarin married his two sisters, and gave them portions suitable to his own unexpected dignity. Donna Marguerita Mazzarini became the wife of Count Jerome Martinozzi; while Donna Laura espoused the Cavaliere Mancini, a Roman gentleman of poor fortunes, but of unblemished descent.

Mazarin, therefore, spent the first six months only of the year 1636 at the court of France as nuncio, where, however, his subtle diplomacy failed to influence Richelieu, or his colleagues in office, Chavigny, and the famous Capuchin, Father Joseph de Tremblay. In January of the year 1639, Mazarin again returned to Paris, on a private mission to Richelieu, concerning a quarrel with the Holy See on the assassination in the streets of Rome of a French officer, attached to the embassy of the Marshal d'Estrées, which he had the good fortune to adjust. During this visit, the Capuchin Joseph died. After lamenting in silence the loss of so subtle a genius, and faithful a friend, Richelieu suddenly broke forth with the words:—"There is M. de Mazarin; behold! our loss is repaired! Seek him; his genius will serve us, and the realm!" Installed in the Palais Cardinal from that day forwards, Mazarin was initiated in the policy of the minister; his facile pen lightened Richelieu's labours, while his smooth ingenuity in argument silenced the moody relentings of Louis XIII. The favour of Anne of Austria followed the approval of the minister; and Mazarin became the ordinary channel through which the

Queen, and Richelieu communicated. Whatever might have been the secret of the transactions of the year 1637, it is to be concluded that Mazarin was entrusted with the truth; and had promised fealty of the most religious kind to Anne, and to her Dauphin. The interval between September 1636, and September 1638, Mazarin had spent in Avignon, and in Rome—these two years, during which occurred Anne's greatest political peril, the birth of Louis XIV. in 1638, and her reconciliation with Richelieu. On the 16th of December, 1641, the fortunate Mazarin was nominated as a candidate for the cardinalate* by Louis XIII., in the place of le P. Joseph de Tremblay; an appointment which gave gratification to Mazarin's old friends the Barbarini, nephews of the reigning Pontiff. On his death-bed, in 1642, Richelieu commended Mazarin to his royal master; advising his Majesty to avail himself of the ability, fortitude, and knowledge of the newly created Cardinal. Amongst the deceased Cardinal's papers was a letter, addressed to the King, reiterating this advice.

The four intervening months between the death of Richelieu and that of the King, elapsed without any formal appointment of Mazarin to office. Louis toyed with his newly recovered liberty, and manifested reluctance to give himself, and the state a new master. Admonished at last by his rapidly failing health that some arrangement relative to the future Regency was imperative, the King summoned Mazarin and Chavigny, and installed them over his council.

The most subtle power of narrative could but feebly

* Mazarin never was ordained a priest.

paint the excitement, and intrigue of this period. From the lowest *gamin* of Paris, to the Queen in her isolation at St. Germain, all classes languished in feverish suspense. In virtue of a Declaration issued by the privy council, and, moreover, presented by the King himself to his Parliament of Paris, the Duke of Orleans was declared incapable, in consequence of his manifold revolts, of aspiring to the future Regency of the realm. Louis, nevertheless, was resolved that power in a very limited degree should pass into the hands of the wife whom he distrusted, and avoided—the Queen, whose intrigues with the foes of France had defeated more than one of Richelieu's most wary combinations. The demeanour of the Queen at this crisis was composed: she was aware that the laws of the realm, ancient precedent, and, perhaps, rising more potent than all in this emergency, the clamours of the great nobles—who believed that Anne was their own in sympathy and interests—would give the sceptre into her hands during the minority of the infant King. Already the court was thronged by nobles proscribed during the life of the late minister, or lately liberated from the Bastille—graces conceded by the clemency, or the indifference of Louis Treize. The Louvre, therefore, rang with denunciations against the deceased Cardinal, and the statesmen his friends, and colleagues; the Queen was beset with adulation, and the proclamation of her future regency was arrogantly demanded. Chavigny, de Noyers, Boutillier, and all the old tried statesmen, scarcely dared to show themselves in the streets of the capital. The reaction was so great against the *ancien régime*, that

fierce threats were exchanged between the hostile parties; and swords were drawn in the precincts of the palace. On the 21st of April, the Marshal de Bassompierre appeared at St. Germain, having been liberated from the Bastille after a detention of twelve years: the same day the Duke and Duchess d'Elbœuf arrived from exile. The following day the court was increased by the presence of the Marshal de Vitry, another of Richelieu's victims, from the Bastille. During the last week in April, 1643, the Duchess de Guise, her daughter and two sons, MM. de Manicamp, and Beringhen; the Duke and Duchess de Vendôme, the Dukes de Mercœur, and de Beaufort, their sons; the Duke de Bellegarde, the Duke de la Valette, and Monsieur, arrived at St. Germain; adding by their presence to the confusion, and affright everywhere prevailing. With most of these persons Anne had once maintained a close and confidential correspondence during their exile; and they returned, elate in their supposed future, her ardent partisans. The Duchess de Chevreuse alone presumed not to appear, having received from the King himself, a harsh and peremptory refusal to her petition, after the death of Richelieu, beseeching her recall.

Mazarin, meantime, was managing affairs with dexterity: shrinking apparently from the odium of his position as a foreigner, and upholder of the policy of Richelieu, he allowed M. de Chavigny to take the lead in all public matters; and especially in the hot discussions concerning the future Regency, which daily divided the council. The unfortunate King, however, though worn out by bodily and mental sufferings, was not to be

diverted from his resolution of restricting the future authority of the Regent by the threats, and seditious bearing of those, whom his clemency had restored to their country. "You do not know the Queen!" exclaimed Louis. "You deprecate the evils which arose under the regency of the late Queen Marie de' Medici, our revered mother; would you, therefore, behold this realm reduced to worse straits? The Queen needs the guidance, and control of a council!" This important document, therefore, the edict of Regency, was drawn by Chavigny—which entailed upon him the never-dying hate of the Queen. Anne was therein named Regent of France, but with power so restricted that her authority was nominal. The members of the council of Regency were Condé—who, from the marriage of his son the Duc d'Enghien, with the niece of the late Cardinal, was regarded as Richelieu's representative at court; the Cardinal de Mazarin; Boutillier, Chavigny, and the Chancellor de Séguier. All matters concerning war, finance, foreign affairs, domestic legislation, the nomination of functionaries of state and of the royal household, and of the King's guards, were to be decided by a plurality of votes; the Queen not having even the power of vêto.

Ecclesiastical appointments were to be made by the Queen Regent, but subject to the assent of Mazarin alone. The exile of the Duchess de Chevreuse was decreed until the conclusion of the war between France, and Spain; then, if the Queen, with the consent of the council, was pleased to permit her recall, the duchess was never to approach the court, nor the person of the Regent. The same was decreed con-

cerning the late Lord Keeper de Châteauneuf; who was not to be released from captivity in a state fortress, until after the signature of a peace between France and her enemies. The Duke of Orleans was appointed Lieutenant-General of the realm, subject to the Queen and council; but Monsieur was declared, in a subsequent clause of the edict, deposed from this high dignity in case he dissented from, or sought in any way to annul this solemn expression of the royal will for the government of the realm, during the minority of the future King. By the advice of Mazarin this edict was submitted to the private consideration of some of the leading members of the Parliament of Paris, before it was publicly presented to the Chamber. The Parliament, flattered at this unusual mark of deference, expressed approval of the decree, and registered it, as Mazarin expected, without discussion. The Duke of Orleans declared himself content; the partisans of Richelieu's system applauded its wisdom, but confessed some degree of doubt, as to whether the division of power enjoined by the edict could be efficiently, and permanently maintained.

By command of King Louis, Mazarin undertook to render the decree acceptable to the Queen. Eager and earnest was the midnight conference which thereupon ensued in Anne's apartment; and on this occasion, as in many previous discussions, Mazarin discovered that it needed not his subtle insinuations to arouse the Queen to a sense of the peril, and delicacy of her position. Resolved to become the depositary of supreme power without check or limit, like the

Queens Regent, her predecessors, Anne at this juncture surpassed Mazarin in adroitness. With a sagacity and art for which few then gave her credit, Anne surveyed her position, and dissected its advantages, and weakness. From a hint which had accidentally fallen from Chavigny,* Anne deemed she had reason to apprehend that the King, in the event of her refusal to subscribe the Act of Regency, intended to confide his sons to the care of the Prince de Condé; after having commanded their removal from her custody to the fortress of Vincennes, by De Troisville,† captain of the body-guard—a man devoted to the royal will. Possession of the persons of the young dauphin and his brother was Anne's safeguard, and the guarantee of her future power. It was therefore necessary to accept the Act of Regency with apparent heartiness, and goodwill; for in the seditious demonstrations of the princes who thronged the court and capital, Anne foresaw her speedy deliverance, after the death of Louis, from the fetters which his edict imposed. Imbittered by exile and by captivity, these turbulent vassals demanded nothing less than the proscription of the heirs of Richelieu; and the restoration of all their feudal strongholds, and privileges. Anne tacitly acquiesced,

* "La reine l'avoit cru (Chavigny) l'auteur du testament du roi. J'ai vu la reine se mocquer de Chavigny qui pendant qu'il traitoit cette affaire, lui venait dire avec empressement, qu'elle prit garde à ce qu'elle promettait d'observer, puisque cette Déclaration, devoit être irrévocable—car elle esperait dès lors, qu'elle rendrait quand il lui plairoit toutes ses peines inutiles."—Mém. de Motteville, p. 145, édit. de 1739.

† Henri de Peyre, Count de Troisville. See the circumstances of his dismissal from his charge by the Cardinal de Richelieu.—Married Life of Anne of Austria, vol. ii.

but took opportunity to lament her dependent position relative to the members of the council of state, all of whom, she observed, were men trained by the late minister, and who adored his memory. To the young Duke de Beaufort, second son of the Duke de Vendôme, who by the marked favour shown towards him by her Majesty, had been recognised as head of the faction of the princes, the Queen confided the renunciations demanded from her. The confidential *coterie* of these leaders of Les Importants, as Anne's clamorous adherents began to be called, used to meet in her Majesty's cabinet to discuss their future proceedings. These personages consisted of the Ducs de Vendôme, de Mercœur, de Beaufort, de la Rochefoucauld, and de Montbazon, and the Bishop of Beauvais, almoner to the Queen, and who rejoiced in a goodly portion of her outward favour. At these meetings Mazarin was spoken of as a factious and wily intruder, and his prompt and ignominious exile resolved upon. The Queen, therefore, after having explained her motives to her partisans, signified through Chavigny, her acceptance of the terms proposed by her royal consort; and the following day she affixed her signature to the Declaration, taking a solemn oath to maintain its enactments, in the presence of the King and council. Monsieur likewise subscribed the document.* On the 21st day of April, Louis, anxious to give every solemnity and authentication to the edict, summoned to St. Germain, a deputation of the most venerable members from the Parliament of Paris;

* Ibid., p. 262, et seq.

when, in the presence of the Queen, the privy councillors, and of all the principal lords of the court, he caused the Act to be read aloud; and called upon the Queen, and Monsieur, publicly to acknowledge their signatures, and to avow the approval which they had expressed.

Meantime, Anne of Austria was perfecting her designs. Nothing, however, was further from the Queen's intentions than to deliver herself a captive into the hands of the chieftains of the great feudal party, whose tyranny and extortion she foresaw would speedily ruin the throne. The Queen, therefore, secretly designed to avail herself of the zeal of this faction, to annul the edict of Regency; but meantime she intended to attempt some explanation with Condé, and with the ministers, Richelieu's successors, in order to be able to shake off the bondage of the feudal party when their work was consummated. Anne, therefore, privately proposed to Condé, through Madame de Condé and Mazarin, to elevate his party to the supreme direction of affairs of her own free will, at some future day, the earliest period possible, provided that he (the Prince) assented to her supremacy as Regent; and aided her designs by a voluntary resignation of office, after the demise of the King. In case the Prince declined this overture, Mazarin was to represent, "that the Queen had finally, and firmly resolved to accept no colleague in the Regency; indeed, the threatening attitude of the nobles admitted of no such compromise—as if she openly abandoned their party, and accepted the members of the present ministry before she had power

to maintain them in office, civil war would ensue; as Monsieur would not fail to take advantage of the troubles to forward his disloyal schemes." The Queen alluded in these words to the insinuations proffered by Monsieur at Orleans and elsewhere, concerning the legitimacy of the young Dauphin. Mazarin performed his errand willingly, and skilfully. The menaces and insubordination of the partisans of Vendôme vexed and intimidated the Prince de Condé; he had little confidence in the stability of a government, the executive powers of which were to be divided between the Queen, Monsieur, and the princes of the blood. Mazarin evidently was her Majesty's friend, and coveted to fill under a Queen Regent the grand functions of the late minister Richelieu; while the Duke de Vendôme, and his sons, bitter opponents of Condé, were certain, he reflected, amid the general enthusiasm at the commencement of a new reign,* to insure the triumph of the Queen.†

Some few evenings, therefore, after the signature of the famous Declaration of Regency, Condé visited the Queen at night, under the escort of Mazarin. Anne received him with *empressement*, being anxious to convince him of her sincerity; as Condé demonstrated some natural surprise that, surrounded by the

* "Quand Louis Treize mourut, tout le monde croyait avoir la fortune faite : mais cette opinion dura peu."—Mém. de Monglât, t. 1, p. 406.

† Madame la princesse de Condé fut une des premières qui parla pour les ministres du roi pour les remettre dans l'esprit de la reine. M. de Liancour les servit avec ardeur, et madame sa femme, et Madame de Chavigny ; mais le plus intime qu'ils employerent furent le P. Vincent, Beringhen et milord Montagu !"

adulation of a powerful party, she was ready to accept the policy, and system of a minister whom she had so repeatedly denounced. The Queen seems to have replied in vague terms to this thrust; she protested that the interests of France, and of her son, were dearer to her than her own private friendships; also, she confessed that the demands of the nobles were outrageous; and that being on the point of assuming power in the realm, she recognised the patriotism and policy of the late minister, who had been able to control such aspirations. That M. de Condé and his party would not be able, in the face of the formidable opposition of the great vassals of the crown, irritated by her desertion, to accomplish the revocation of the decree which limited her future powers as Regent; and that without such unfettered powers she could not maintain M. de Mazarin and his colleagues in office, so great was the reaction against the system of the late M. le Cardinal. Finally, the Queen observed, that MM. de Vendôme, on the first symptom of their decline in her favour, would offer themselves to Monsieur, which fact would infallibly convulse the realm—the remedy, in her Majesty's opinion for such woes being, the abrogation of the late Declaration, and of the council of Regency—a measure to be obtained by outwardly persevering for the present in alliance with MM. de Vendôme, and their party: secondly, the after repression of that turbulent faction, by the absolute authority of the crown, strengthened by alliance with Condé, and with his heroic son, the Duc d'Enghien, commander-in-chief of the armies of France on the Flemish frontier.

Other members of the Queen's secret council entered while the discussion proceeded: the papal nuncio, Father Vincent de Paul, M. Montague and others, who joined with the Queen and Mazarin, in requesting the co-operation of Condé. Already half persuaded, Condé listened with complacency. The vacillating character of Monsieur rendered it almost impossible to act with him in political concert; while the indignation which Anne of Austria expressed, regarding some of the Duke's late proceedings, appeared to the Prince to open the promise of a future grand career for the young hero of his house. A compact therefore was signed between Condé and the Queen, the Prince undertaking to obtain its eventual ratification by the Duc d'Enghien. The Queen stipulated, "that if she obtained the Regency independently of the control of a council, that she would nominate M. le Duc d'Enghien to all public offices and honours from which she could exclude Monsieur, without driving the latter to open revolt against the royal authority." Condé, on his side, undertook "that M. le Duc d'Enghien should promise undeviating attachment and zeal for the interests of the Queen; and engage to receive, and accept only from her hands, every favour and command which he could claim, or demand from the government." It was further expresssly stipulated that this compact should remain a secret; that the Queen should still continue to give indications of goodwill and alliance to MM. de Vendôme, and others; that when all things should have resolved themselves according to her Majesty's desire, that she should employ her good offices, and persuasion to reconcile all parties

and factions, in the realm. Strong in their alliance, Mazarin and the Queen, thus cleverly aided each other in the realization of their respective aspirations. Anne of Austria desired to grasp the sceptre during her son's minority with irresponsible power. Mazarin aspired to unlimited authority as prime minister of France. Their aim was a lofty one: the obstacles were innumerable, and apparently overwhelming. A more interesting, and exciting passage of history exists not, than that which recounts the subtle tact, ingenuity, and unconquerable firmness with which this Spanish princess, and this Italian ecclesiastic fought their way to supreme power, by the gradual, and wily overthrow of all their foes.

The Queen, meantime, lavished flattering marks of confidence on the Duke de Beaufort, designating him publicly as "*le plus honnête homme de la France.*" Anne, nevertheless, put no constraint on her inclinations by vouchsafing these indications of favour. She really liked the Duke; and admired his handsome presence, and the chivalrous tone of his discourse. Neither did she desire to break with the friends of her adversity; she had only determined to be omnipotent, and to render them subservient.

On the 8th of May, 1643, King Louis was reported to be at extremity. The Queen thereupon, announced her intention to take up her abode at the Château Neuf, to minister with her own hands to the wants of her dying consort. The young Dauphin and his brother having some days previously received the benediction of their father, remained at the old palace. Fearing for the safety of her sons during her absence, and the

defeat of her carefully planned combinations, Anne took measures which, but for the turbulent excitement of the period, might have afforded some insight into the character of the future Regent; which had always been a puzzle, and a mystery to the court, and people of France. Anne boldly resolved to confide the safe-keeping of her sons to the Duke de Beaufort, rather than to commit them, as she was bound to do, to the guardianship of the members of the council of Regency. With her own lips she summoned, and commanded the officers of the garrison of St. Germain, the captains of the royal guards, of the Swiss guards, and of a regiment of light horse—which had suddenly, and mysteriously appeared at St. Germain, and of whose advance every one desired knowledge—to take the word of command from no one except the Duke de Beaufort. This step Anne took without apprising either Monsieur, or Condé that such had been her pleasure. "The Queen," relates an eyewitness of these stirring events, "on learning the extremity of the King, sent for the Duke de Beaufort; her Majesty then said, that as he (M. de Beaufort) was the man of all others in whom she had most confidence, she was about to give him a signal mark of favour; that the King being at the point of death, she was going to stay with his Majesty and therefore, intended to leave her sons in his care, so that the princes of the blood might not seize their persons. That he might execute this trust without difficulty, she was going to order the commandants of the *gendarmerie*, the light horse, and of all the regiments of the French and Swiss guards, to obey his orders, and those of no

one else. This her Majesty did immediately; she then repaired to the new palace, attended by the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince de Condé. The Duke de Beaufort thereupon, believing the crisis to be urgent, ordered all the regiments to arms. He posted the *gendarmerie*, and the regiment of light horse in the great court of the old palace; and there assembled all his friends, and adherents, the servants of the Queen—in fact all the court. He waited thus until the unexpected news arrived from the adjacent palace, that the King having recovered from a swoon was considered to be in better condition. The Queen, however, continued with the King; but the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince de Condé returning to their apartments in the old palace, showed much astonishment to find the guards under arms. Their amazement was increased when they perceived M. de Beaufort at the head of several regiments of cavalry, and surrounded by the greater part of the great lords at court, who, when he saw the princes, never stirred to meet, or to salute them. The Duke of Orleans retired at once to his apartment, while Condé approached to speak to M. de Beaufort; but perceiving that the latter turned aside, and pretended not to see his royal highness, the prince likewise retreated in confusion, and dismay."

Louis XIII. survived this martial demonstration for the space of one week, during which no one ventured to dispute the commands of M. de Beaufort. Mazarin, with the utmost subtilty, feigned to disapprove this usurpation of the rights of the lords of the council, and retired to Paris, where he pretended to commence pre-

paration for departure from the kingdom; "as," said his Eminence, "I foresee that the last testamentary injunctions of Louis XIII. will not be respected, and I have cause to dread the displeasure of MM. les Princes." To the Queen, Mazarin openly observed, according to the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, the historian of Les Importants,—"Madame, it is true that the royal Declaration limiting your power as future Regent is vexatious; nevertheless, by promoting this said edict, I have rendered you an important service, for on such conditions could the King alone be induced to sanction your Regency. On the other hand, it matters not to you on what terms you receive this said Regency; you will always, Madame, find means to strengthen your rule, and finally to govern absolutely."

Mazarin, nevertheless, distrusted the sincerity of Anne of Austria. So far from having absolute empire over the Queen's mind and intentions, as some authors assert, and, at this period, possessing the certainty that the highest post in the realm was within his grasp, the private papers and memoranda of the Cardinal, which have recently come to light, testify to the mental perturbation, and even fear, which agitated him during the four months subsequent to the death of Louis Treize. Foreseeing the abrogation of the last will and testament of King Louis, he had everything to dread;—the rivalry of the ex-Chancellor de Chateâuneuf, the favourite minister of the chiefs of Les Importants; the hostility of Condé and his son, whose military capacity rendered him a foe to be feared; the enmity of that powerful *clique*, the kinsmen of the late Cardinal;

and the hatred for a foreign minister, certain to be exhibited in the Chamber. To balance these overwhelming disadvantages, Mazarin had to rely on the uncertain favour of Anne of Austria, and her gratitude for any trifling services he might have rendered to her cause during the last hours of her husband's reign—on his own genius, and on the probable incapacity of his opponents.

THE

REGENCY OF ANNE OF AUSTRIA.

CHAPTER I.

1643.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA, REGENT OF FRANCE.

FIVE hours after the death of Louis XIII., silence reigned around the château of Henri Quatre. The Queen-Regent, attended by Madame de Brassac and by Potier Bishop of Beauvais, repaired privately to the old palace, where the King and his brother resided. At six o'clock, P.M., the portals of the palace were thrown open amid incredible enthusiasm, and cries of Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine Régente! In the interior of the palace acclamations resounded. Anne of Austria had entered the grand gallery of the château, leading by the hand her young son the King, whom she presented to the noblemen and ladies assembled. The face of the Queen was pale, but her demeanour, as usual, was dignified and composed. Anne was attended by the Duc d'Orleans, the Prince de Condé, by the ministers of state de Chavigny, and Boutillier, by the Dukes de Beaufort, de la

Rochefoucauld, de Vendôme, Mercœur, and d'Elbœuf, the Duchess de Montbazon, and by Mesdames de Brassac, and de Lansac, governess of the children of France.

Louis Quatorze was four years and eight months old, when he ascended the most splendid throne of Europe.

Every eye-witness of this scene expatiates on the noble and handsome presence of the child-King; of the grace with which, cap in hand, he returned the salutes of his subjects, holding his head erect, with steady glance, exhibiting no symptoms of shyness, and gravely extending his little hand to be kissed by the princes, as they knelt to offer him homage.

Their Majesties then presented themselves on a balcony, which overlooked the principal court; and were received with shouts of greeting from the crowds assembled in the vicinity of the château. Monsieur was likewise cheered, and the Prince de Condé: but when the well-known faces of Boutillier, and Chavigny were observed, a storm of hisses, and execrations burst forth, mingled with cries of "*À bas les Cardinalisques! Point de Mazarin! Vive le Roi! Vive la Régente!*" which symptoms of unpopularity seemed greatly to disconcert these subtle personages.

The Queen then entered the council chamber, a way being with difficulty made for her progress thither. Anne took her seat on the right of the *fautueil* placed at the head of the table for the sovereign, into which King Louis was lifted by the Duc de Beaufort. M. de Guénégaud, under secretary of state, then laid before their Majesties the usual form in which the Kings of

France notified their accession to MM. les Prévôts de Paris; and ordained funeral solemnities, and a general mourning for their predecessor.* Anne took a pen, gave it to her son, and guided his hand, as Louis, with the utmost gravity of visage, appended his future mighty signature for the first time, to a state paper. The Queen then rose, complaining of fatigue, and bowing to the assemblage, retired; after giving M. de Beaufort instructions, in an audible voice, to arrange for the departure of the court to the Louvre on the following morning.

The utmost excitement and uneasiness meantime, prevailed. The party composed of the Queen's old friends, —men, persecuted by Richelieu for their participation in one or other of the plots concocted with Anne's connivance—relying on her promises, and on the permanency of her resentments, displayed arrogant triumph. Their turbulent retainers filled the precincts of the palace with brawls; no friend or adherent of Richelieu escaped insult. MM. de Chavigny and de Boutillier, as they crossed the quadrangle of the Château Neuf to their own apartments, were even hissed, and followed by a mob of insolent lackeys, wearing the royal liveries. The Duc de Beaufort † took upon himself the functions, which by the will of the late King, devolved on Monsieur, and his colleagues of the council of Regency.

* Lettre du Roi à MM. le Prévôt des Marchands, et échevins de sa bonne ville de Paris, sur la mort du Roi Louis XIII.—Bibl. Imp. Fontanelle, t. 485. Aubéry, Vie du Cardinal Mazarin.

† Antoine de Vendôme, Duc de Beaufort, second son of César de Bourbon, Duc de Vendôme, natural but legitimated son of Henri Quatre, and Gabrielle d'Estrées. Born January, 1619; died June 25, 1669.

The retainers of Vendôme, 700 strong, lined the vestibule of the palace, and guarded the approaches to the King's chamber. All the regiments were under arms; the watchword of the palace guards was given by the Duc de Beaufort; and no one after midnight was permitted entrance into the palace, except by a pass signed by the duke. As soon as their Majesties had retired, M. de Beaufort, perceiving that Condé lingered uneasily by the council table, sent a gentleman, M. de Campion, to desire him, in the name of the Queen, to leave the apartment, which, he said, it was necessary to close. The blood of Condé fired at this insulting order from the lips of a prince of the illegitimate branch of Bourbon Vendôme. "Say, that when her Majesty's commands are conveyed to me by her captain of the guards, I will obey. I have no orders to receive from M. de Beaufort!" replied the Prince. News being presently brought to the duke that one La Frettè, a soldier in the pay of the Duc d'Orleans, had arrived at the head of 200 gentlemen, Beaufort demanded an explanation from Monsieur; who was compelled to write an order directing La Frette to quarter his soldiers at Poissy—from whence they might, as M. de Beaufort observed, be permitted to join in the cortége of Monsieur, when on his way to Paris with the court.

The power of the lords of the council being thus superseded, they met at a late hour of the night to confer. The presence of Mazarin was in vain sought at St. Germain; for no intelligence had reached his colleagues as to his movements and intentions. Monsieur was depressed and nervous, cowed by the threats of the hostile cabal,

and by the reserve shown by the Queen. Condé, furious at the aggressions of the Princes of Vendôme, finding that the adherents of the ministers, all creatures of the late Cardinal, were unable to control the torrent of reaction that had set in against Richelieu's system, reflected with complacency on his secret compact with Anne of Austria. Chavigny,* of the subtle brain, mused: foreseeing the abrogation of the decree limiting the powers of the Regent, he determined to conciliate the Queen; with whose character and sentiments he was better acquainted than he chose to avow. Chavigny, therefore, boldly proposed that a voluntary resignation of the powers conferred by the act of Regency on himself and his colleagues, the ministers of the late King, should precede, and perhaps prevent their ignominious dismissal by the Queen, as soon as she arrived at the Louvre. Condé then avowed, with pretended reluctance, that such was his own opinion. He stated that it was necessary for the welfare of the realm that the government should be united and strong; that in order to be able to repress faction, the Queen-Regent should not be compelled to accept for her counsellors men of one political denomination, and tactics; and that he had made representations, and so stated his convictions to the late King: finally, that public opinion evidently revolted at the constraint placed upon the august mother of Louis XIV., by the clauses of the Act of Regency. Monsieur made some observations, the

* Léon de Boutillier, Baron de Chavigny, one of the most favoured, trusted, and acute servants of Richelieu. Many sharp contests had passed between Anne during her husband's reign, and Chavigny, the zealous minister of the Cardinal's behests.

purport of which, in his bewilderment, it was not easy to define. Boutillier* declared that his opinion coincided with that of his son M. de Chavigny; as an attempt to curtail the powers of the Regent, and, therefore, to limit her Majesty's power of bestowing graces, would be indignantly circumvented by the greedy cabal of MM. de Vendôme. It was therefore unanimously resolved that on the morrow, before the court quitted St. Germain, they would lay the resignation of their respective offices at the feet of the Queen-Regent.

Queen Anne, meantime, was taking repose in the solitude of her chamber, after the stirring events of this memorable day. Her tears had fallen over the pillow of the dying King—and perhaps some sorrow for her share in those tragic incidents of his reign, which had steeped the last hours of Louis with exquisite anguish, agitated her mind. "The Queen did me the favour to relate," writes Madame de Motteville, "that when the King died, she was smitten with most true grief. She said, that as she watched his expiring moments, she felt as if her own heart was being torn from her body; the which, her Majesty's natural sincerity of character would not have permitted her to state, unless she had truly experienced such feelings. Her tenderness for the King, therefore, must have been greater than she imagined; at which I am not surprised, appreciating, as I must do, her honourable character, and the strength of the obligations which she owed to the

* Claude de Boutillier, Count de Chavigny, father of Richelieu's favourite. He died in 1652.

said King. When all was over, the Queen visited the little Dauphin, whom she reverently saluted, and tenderly embraced with tears in her eyes, as her King, and her child."

To his last hour, however, Louis had repulsed Anne's assiduities, and had refused to accept her protestations of loyalty as a wife. He continued to disparage her intellect; and stated openly to the members of all the great bodies of the state, his conviction—"*qu'il falloit brider la Reyne.*" The character of Anne of Austria had been a hidden problem to the statesmen, and servants of the late reign. Married when a child to a prince who inspired her neither with love, nor with respect, and whose peculiarities elicited her scorn, Anne had resented, with passionate fervour, her subordination to Marie de' Medici, to M. de Luynes, and to the Cardinal de Richelieu. Proud of her illustrious birth, of her personal charms, and conscious of rare mental gifts, Anne, rather than submit to be patronised by the reigning favourite, spent her life in plots and in combinations, often treasonable, against the government of the King. If she was not to be considered, and her rank revered, Anne resolved that the life of the person who so degraded her in the eyes of France, and of Europe should neither be tranquil, nor enviable. The power of her charms she early vindicated by the subjugation of the Dukes of Buckingham, and de Montmorency; who were considered as the pink of courtiers and gallant gentlemen of the day. Her aptitude at political conspiracy she duly evidenced by her connivance in the designs of the Prince de Chalais and his confederates,

who had plotted to depose Louis Treize, and to give his crown with his Queen, to Gaston Duc d'Orleans. The strength of her hate and daring, Anne demonstrated by her secret correspondence with her kindred of Spain, during the sanguinary war raging between the two monarchies; and by the treacherous revelation which she made of the political events it was impossible entirely to conceal. Her utter and reckless disregard of conscience in matters which affected her interests or her safety, may be appreciated by the oath she took at Chantilly, with her hand on the Holy Eucharist, that she had never holden traitorous correspondence with Spain; when a few days subsequently, she found herself compelled to confess the transgression which she had so awfully denied. Her easy adaptation to circumstances, and her unscrupulous change of policy and friends, when she found it necessary, in order to avoid divorce, or a life-long incarceration in the fortress of Havre, are exhibited by her prompt reconciliation with Richelieu. In her vain contests, the lives of valiant men fled either on the battle field, or on the scaffold; the reputation and fortunes of brilliant, and lovely women were sacrificed, and they themselves driven into exile and penury—but Anne smiled, and soothed the sufferers, or their representatives, with almost magical fascinations. Yet Louis and his minister despised the powers of a woman capable of intrigue so formidable, and of pertinacity so insatiable; who had managed to make Richelieu tremble, and to secure the loyal fealty of the great nobles, whose usurped privileges he had restored to the crown. They had waited in exile—preferring the word, and the promise of Anne of

Austria, to the overtures tardily made by the King, and his minister. The Duchesse de Chevreuse,* Anne's most intimate friend, and her ally in conspiracy—a woman of rare charms, spirited, learned, and of great political capacity, believed with intense belief in Anne's sincerity and truth; and was enduring the sixth year of a second exile on the Queen's behalf at the death of Louis Treize. Madame de Hautefort also, one of the most pious and tender-hearted of women, had declared herself ready to lay down her life for the royal mistress, who only thought how to advance her own selfish projects. The people of France were not likely to be more enlightened on the character of the princess, whose accession to power they so rapturously hailed. The Queen had been nothing to them personally, or politically: they heard of her repeated disgraces; of the curtailment of her court; of her persecutions at the hands of the King, and Richelieu: they seldom saw her in the Louvre; but her downcast looks, her beauty, and grace of movement whenever she appeared at any of the public religious ceremonies, excited their admiring pity, and sympathy. The birth of the long-desired Dauphin raised their enthusiasm on her behalf—always excepting that knot of bold speculators on the tardiness of the blessing which had been bestowed upon France, at the period when the dissensions between the royal pair had become matter for public discussion, even in the marts of the capital.

Neither had Anne of Austria failed in her accustomed

* Marie de Rohan Montbazon, daughter of Hercule de Rohan, Duc de Montbazon, and of Madelaine de Lénoncourt. She married in 1622 Claude de Lorraine, Duc de Chevreuse, youngest son of Henri Duc de Guise, killed at Blois, and of Catherine de Cleves Nevers.

dexterity during the crisis of the last illness of the King. Of what nature was the mysterious compact which bound her as the secret ally of Richelieu during the last five years of his life, can never now be known. With Mazarin, it is certain that the Queen was, at the period of the King's death, on distant, though on friendly terms; nor can it be too distinctly stated, that Mazarin permanently established himself in France only in the year 1639; and that he had previously made only one visit of six months to France in the year 1636, besides the brief interview which he had at Lyons with Richelieu, in 1630. The stories, therefore, which in later days connected the name of Mazarin with that of the parentage of Louis XIV., are fabulous, and totally devoid of truth. The career month by month, of Mazarin, may be clearly traced, with the place of his abode, and his occupation, until he came to settle in France in the month of December, subsequent to the birth of the young Dauphin in September, 1638. Mazarin at this era of his history regarded the Queen with dread and uncertainty; and spoke of her in public as "*une femme méconnue, et qui ferait voir de belles choses.*"

Anne's first object now was to effect the abrogation of the edict which fettered her Regency; she was then open to the advances of the two chieftains of faction, M. de Beaufort, leader of Les Importants—or of Mazarin, the minister appointed by the will of the late King to be chief of the faction of the old *régime*. She had skilfully turned to her advantage the hate between the Condé family, and the princes of Vendôme; and thereby had gained the adherence of the young Duc

d'Enghien, who was about to inaugurate her Regency by his splendid victory of Rocroy, fought May 19th, 1643.

On the morning following the death of the King, May 15th, Queen Anne graciously, and complacently received the resignation of the ministers present at St. Germain; retaining the services of MM. de Boutillier and de Chavigny, and the Chancellor de Séguier, until she had leisure to decide upon affairs; and had obtained from the Parliament the abrogation of the last edict given by Louis Treize.

At eleven o'clock, a magnificent *cortége* quitted St. Germain, to escort the little King, and his mother into Paris. First marched forth a battalion of the royal guards, a battalion of Swiss guards, and the regiment of the famed Mousquetaires du Roi. Next came the regiment of household guards nine hundred strong, with banners waving, and drums beating. The lords of the court followed, riding two and two abreast, to the number of several hundreds. The Marshals of France, present at St. Germain, preceded the royal coach. The Queen sat forwards, attired in black velvet, a crape veil being attached to her coif. On her knee was Louis XIV., by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre. Her Majesty was accompanied by the Duc d'Orleans, the Prince de Condé, by her second and infant son, M. d'Anjou, who lay asleep in the arms of Madame de Lansac, and by the Duchesse de Montbazon. The coach was surrounded by a strong guard: at the window on the right of her Majesty rode the Duc de Beaufort; and that on the left was guarded by

M. de Trêsmes, captain of the body-guard. Then came a squadron of horse, consisting of two hundred soldiers, and two more strong battalions of French, and Swiss guards. The martial cavalcade proceeded at a foot's pace towards Paris, amid incredible enthusiasm, merriment, and rejoicing.* The retainers of all the noblemen who had hurried to St. Germain followed, each band bearing the *guidon* of its chief. The Queen was received at the Porte St. Honoré by the Duc de Montbazon, governor of Paris, who presented the provost, and sheriffs of Paris, and the chief officers of the city wards, who knelt to kiss the royal hand. Crowds of citizens and others, pressed forwards to gaze with rapture on the young King, who waved his cap to the people. The streets, from the Porte St. Honoré, were lined with files of soldiers, through which the royal *cortége* proceeded to the Louvre; where their Majesties were received by a deputation of the High Court of Parliament, of La Cour des Aydes, and of La Chambre des Comptes. "The Queen," relates M. Guy Patin, in his celebrated letters, "arrived in Paris at four o'clock of the afternoon, attended by ten thousand men, without reckoning the cavaliers and volunteers, who swarmed out of Paris to meet the little King." The same evening, Anne held council, and granted private audiences to MM. de Beaufort, de Condé, and to the young Jean François de Gondy, shortly to become the formidable Cardinal de Retz, and to the Bishop of Beauvais. At this council, summons was issued to all the peers of France, and the

* Godefroy, Grand Cérém. de France, t. 2. Aubéry, Vie du Cardinal de Mazarin.

members of the Parliament to assemble at the Palais on the following Monday May 19th, to meet the King; who wished to consult his faithful subjects on a matter of moment. This step was an error on the part of the Queen, from which Mazarin had vainly attempted to persuade her. In submitting the question of her Regency to the Parliament, Anne acknowledged the right of that august body to interfere in affairs of state—a privilege sternly repressed by the late Cardinal; who had caused an edict to be issued abrogating for ever this hotly contested liberty; and which had been accepted as the future law of the realm, and inscribed on the registers of the High Court. The impolicy of this deference was the more manifest, as Anne's political maxims were arbitrary; and the Chamber being asked, to sanction her intended appropriation of absolute power, was certain to arrogate to itself a right of future decision on minor matters. The private advice given by Mazarin, urged the Queen to summon the council of state; and by a solemn decree to abolish the Declaration issued by the late King—it having, in fact, been rendered invalid by the voluntary resignation of the members of the council of Regency. Anne, however, timid in the early days of her widowhood, persisted in consulting the Chamber, being supported in her opinion by the Duc de Beaufort.

The anxieties of the Queen, meantime, continued to be intolerable. From the three men who, at this period, seemed competent to direct her administration, Anne instinctively shrank: the Bishop of Beauvais was ignorant of affairs, and bigoted; the Duc de Beaufort was at once

rude and familiar; while Mazarin sulkily held aloof, and appeared equally careless of the abuse lavished upon him by the hostile faction, as of the embarrassments of his royal mistress. After the departure of the members of the privy council, therefore, Anne privately summoned Henri de Loménie Count de Brienne, ex-secretary of state to Henri Quatre; and the President de Bailleul—who both, calling themselves her devoted adherents, outwardly belonged to the party of M. de Vendôme. Anne opened this midnight conference by commanding the two personages to speak honestly and frankly: addressing de Brienne, she then stated her dilemma, and commented on the qualities of the personages above-mentioned, laying stress on the pretensions of Mazarin, whom the late King had elected to govern the realm during the minority. "The President de Bailleul spoke first," relates the Count de Brienne, "and voted without hesitation for the exclusion, and exile of Mazarin. I, however, who thought I detected in the manner of the Queen some favour towards the Cardinal, observed—that in the present pressing posture of affairs, it might be possible that her Majesty could not do better than recall M. le Cardinal to her counsels; when, having given him a trial, she might either confirm him in his office, or dismiss him from the realm." Anne made no reply, but sat listening to the discussion with cold, and grave aspect. Bailleul angrily rejoined, "That the exile of Le Mazarin was already determined upon; and that if her Majesty wished for a Cardinal-minister, she had better summon the Cardinal de la Rochefoucault." "No," retorted M. de Brienne, "capacity, and not ecclesiastical rank,

must determine the choice of a minister. Nevertheless, if her Majesty sees reason not to employ M. le Cardinal, the minister of Louis Treize, she cannot, in justice, overlook the claims of a most devoted servant, persecuted almost to his death by the late Cardinal de Richelieu. Your Majesty surely cannot doubt either the capacity, or the fidelity and attachment, of that tried servant?" The Queen coloured, and replied with evident irritation of manner; "M. de Brienne, I have two good and sufficient reasons for not recalling M. de Châteauneuf, and placing him at the head of affairs: the first reason is—that I will not by my own act so openly contravene the Declaration of the late King my lord, until Parliament, as I hope, shall have annulled that his edict; my second reason is—that I cannot recall M. de Châteauneuf without alienating all the friends, and powerful adherents of the late Cardinal; and, moreover, irrevocably offend M. le Prince de Condé and his family, who will never pardon the said de Châteauneuf for the involuntary error which he committed in presiding at the trial of the late M. de Montmorency. If these reasons existed not, I avow that I should perhaps, prefer the services of M. de Châteauneuf; but until he has returned from his long exile, and has reconciled himself to his old enemies, how can I employ him without exasperating them—at a time, also, when M. le Duc d'Enghien has beaten the armies of Spain; and therefore, when the aid and friendship of the Prince his father, are indispensable to me, in order that I may have a prince of the blood to oppose to the exaggerated pretensions of M. d'Orleans? I beg of you, Messieurs, to reflect before you speak: M. de Château-

neuf is doubtless capable of filling the chief place in my council, but the time to introduce him therein has not yet come." Anne paused a second, and then resumed vehemently—"M. de Brienne, I forbid you to mention what has just now passed to any one of the friends of the said de Châteauneuf: it will offend me deeply. Châteauneuf shall believe that he owes his liberty, when he obtains it, to Madame de Chevreuse—who, however, let me tell you, is not so certain of a speedy return to court as some people imagine. I begin to fear her character: and I believe that she is less willing to pardon our late common enemies than myself; or to return men good, as I mean to do, for the evil which they once wrought." "This was speaking clearly enough," relates M. de Brienne; "I therefore, humbly reiterated, that if her Majesty pleased, M. de Mazarin *might* serve her well, at this juncture; and that to accept of his temporary services would probably be advisable. M. de Bailleul, perceiving how matters were going, tried in much confusion, to qualify the harshness of his strictures on Mazarin; but the Queen, interposing, assured him of her continued favour; and recommending us to maintain inviolable secrecy on this conference; her Majesty rose from her chair, and passed into a little room adjoining, in which it seems M. de Beringhen waited her commands."

From thence, de Brienne and his companion, heard the Queen relate all that had passed to Beringhen,—a confidence anything but reassuring in the posture of affairs. The Queen then, elevating her voice, continued, addressing Beringhen, "Go, sir, without delay, and

report to M. le Cardinal all that I have told you: pretend, however, to have overheard these details from this small chamber. Spare my poor President de Bailleul, who is a faithful servant; but inform the Cardinal of the service rendered him by M. de Brienne. Before you impart any information, take care, however, to ascertain what are the sentiments of M. le Cardinal towards myself; and fail not to report to me what grateful return M. de Mazarin is disposed to make for my condescensions towards him."

Beringhen, after the return of the court to Paris, had devoted himself to the Queen's private service. Aware of his aptitude, Anne gladly accepted his services; and promised to take care of his fortunes, provided that he remained faithful to the pledges which he had tendered. To Beringhen, therefore, Anne intrusted the delicate commission of testing Mazarin's sentiments; and of ascertaining whether he, of all the ministers nominated in the Declaration of the late King, intended to make protest in the Chamber against the intended abrogation of that edict. Mazarin's silence had somewhat alarmed her; and she desired, if possible, before meeting the Chamber, to obtain from him some promise of acquiescence as to what might there be decreed.

Beringhen proceeded to the Hôtel de Clèves, where Mazarin had taken up his abode, and found his Eminence, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, playing at Primero with Chavigny, and Beautru. As soon as the Cardinal perceived Beringhen, he gave his cards to Beautru, and rising from the table, he beckoned to the former to follow him. "His Eminence," relates

Beringhen, "testified no emotion of any kind at my relation, which lasted two hours, so that at last I was compelled to tell him that the Queen had sent me." Joy sparkled in the eyes of the ambitious prelate. "Say to her Majesty," exclaimed he, "that I place my fate unconditionally in her hands. Every advantage and honour given to me by the King my lord, in his Declaration, I resign from this moment. I avow that it pains me to exclude M. de Chavigny from knowledge of this matter, as our interests have hitherto been identical. I trust, however, that her Majesty will deign to keep secret her gracious communication—as I, on my side, vow impenetrable discretion." Beringhen then bluntly requested the Cardinal to put the substance of his reply in writing, tendering the use of his tablets. The old courtier, inured to vicissitude and deception, desired to present to his royal mistress something more satisfactory than his own version of the Cardinal's reply, which any day might be contradicted. Mazarin therefore took the tablet, and wrote:—"I submit my will to that of the Queen. I renounce from henceforth, and with all my heart, the advantages secured to me in the Declaration, which I abandon, with all other interests, and trust to the unparalleled goodness of her Majesty—Written, and signed by the hand of her Majesty's humble, obedient, and grateful subject —Giulio, Cardinal Mazarin." Beringhen, taking hasty leave of Mazarin, then returned to the Louvre, where the Queen anxiously expected him. "Her Majesty," continues M. de Brienne, "evidently perused with satisfaction the note written by the Cardinal; and handing

me the tablet, desired me to keep it for her. I drew her attention to the fact that there were other notes inscribed on the tablet. M. de Beringhen then courteously observed, that he had no secrets from me; and requested me to keep the said tablet according to her Majesty's command.. I, however, begged the Queen to permit me to seal up the tablet in her presence, to which she consented." Brienne's party eventually accused him of a shameful betrayal of their interests, in keeping secret the ulterior intentions of Anne of Austria relative to Mazarin, whom she had tacitly engaged to dismiss. The Queen's position, however, was one of the utmost difficulty; the battle about to be fought was, in fact, an encounter between the kinsmen of the late Cardinal, supported by Condé and his valiant son, and a furious, and greedy mob of the great vassals of the crown.

M. de Beaufort, meantime, the hero of the pompous pageant of the King's entry into Paris, forgot in his elation that he who aspired to become the successor of Richelieu, must necessarily be endowed with qualifications, and conduct worthy of the office. The chieftains of the great party of Les Importants were the princes of Vendôme, the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, the Duchesse de Chevreuse, the Marquis de Châteauneuf, Augustin Potier Bishop of Beauvais, and the Duchesse de Montbazon, who, from the influence which her beauty exercised over M. de Beaufort, was considered a personage not to be neglected. The Duc de Vendôme, son of Henri Quatre and Gabrielle d'Estrées, was a prince of no political calibre, sensitive in a painful degree to the bar

sinister on his shield, envious of the true princes of the blood, and being ever ready to usurp their privileges, and to magnify their faults, was the source of much contention in the royal family. The duke was witty, and famous for the causticity of his tongue. Always at enmity with the Prince de Condé, and on bad terms with the princes of Guise, who coveted his rich domain of Anet—a spoil confiscated from their family, and bestowed by Henri Quatre on his illegitimate son—the Duc de Vendôme passed his days in undignified contentions. His two sons had already suffered exile for their supposed connivance in the conspiracy of M. de Cinq-Mars. The eldest son, M. de Mercœur, was a prince of gentle, inoffensive disposition, conscientious, a man of honour, and inclined to religious asceticism. His brother, M. de Beaufort, was regarded as the future hero of his house, whose handsome person, and rare social gifts, were likely to carry him to the summit of the ambition of even a scion of Vendôme. "M. le Duc de Beaufort," writes a contemporary, "is a prince of fine parts, polite, affable, and condescending even to excess. He was known during the troubles as Le Roi des Halles, for he was beloved and courted by the populace, and never refused a salute even to the meanest man. He was graceful, dexterous, and had an abundance of beautiful curling hair; he rode well on horseback, danced well, talked well, and was altogether an accomplished gentleman." But Beaufort aspired to other distinctions, which nature had denied him: he wished for political power, for the exercise of which he had neither education, capacity, nor forbear-

ance. He was vain, presumptuous, and indiscreet, and openly admitted his sympathy with the men of the late reign, whose daggers were ever ready to avenge their political mortifications. The duke assumed the airs of prime minister and protector of the King; although he had never sat at a council board, and possessed neither the tongue of the orator, nor the pen of a ready writer. He also assumed the airs of a lover in his intercourse with his coquettish mistress Queen Anne; though his attentions were often contemptuously repulsed, out of resentment, as the duke audaciously insinuated, at the homage which he offered to the charms of the beautiful Duchesse de Montbazon. Anne, it must be acknowledged, had a great *penchant* for the handsome young duke, who, had he been a wise man, might have prolonged her illusion; as she, at this period, humoured his whims, and good-naturedly pardoned his many, and gross violations of courtly etiquette. The young Duc de la Rochefoucauld was the man of his party, as well as its graphic historian. The intimate ally of the Duchesse de Chevreuse, and the *preux chevalier* to whose protection the Queen had committed herself in the past days of her adversity, La Rochefoucauld, but for his youth, would doubtless have acquired a permanent political ascendency. But the duke's views were grounded on the maxims of the past—of the period when the feudal vassals of the crown were able to defy their sovereign—when the condition of the people was that of serfdom; and the aspirations of their representatives of the middle classes in the Parliaments were arrogantly repressed. The temper of the

duke was somewhat bitter for his age and rank; he loved to make the weakness and unfaithfulness of mankind topics of discourse—which cynical habit alienated hearts. As for Madame de Chevreuse, her early history has been related elsewhere; and her future machinations these pages will unfold. M. de Châteauneuf—the minister whose restoration to office the cabal desired—had suffered for his treachery to the Cardinal-minister Richelieu, his early patron; and for his *liaisons* with the Queen, and Madame de Chevreuse. He was a man of unusual capacity, but devoured with political ambition, and the deadly foe of all public men esteemed by the late Cardinal; or who had risen on his own downfall. His incarceration in the fortress of Angoulême had irritated a temper never, at the best, either placable, or easy; while the tedium of long hours of silence and despair, had subdued the bright wit which, in prosperous days, had rendered his society greatly esteemed. Potier, bishop of Beauvais, lord high almoner to the Queen, was simply "*une bête mitrée*," as the coadjutor De Gondy aptly declared. Benevolent, stupid, faithful, pious, the bishop—"*plus idiot que tous les idiots*"—eventually made a capital foil for Mazarin; and admirably served the purpose for which his royal mistress had called him to her counsels.

The minor members of the great cabal of reaction, were MM. de Fontrailles, Montrésor, Béthune, de Fiesque, and the two brothers De Campion—men who blindly obeyed their chieftains; and shrank at no deed of bloodshed to obtain their ends. There were also other adherents of the cabal—men and women of excellent

virtue, conscientious—who deemed, apart from every political consideration, that as the Queen in her adversity had received chivalrous fidelity, so now that she was bound in honour and gratitude, to make "mincemeat of the realm," rather than repulse, or create one malcontent amongst her former friends. These persons were Madame de Hautefort, Madame de Senécé, the father St. Vincent de Paul, the abbesses of the Val de Grâce, of the Carmelites of the Rue St. Jacques, and the prioress of Pontoise, the devout sister of the Chancellor de Séguier. "The faction received the *sobriquet* of Les Importants, because its members pretended to restore all things, vapouring and declaiming against existing abuses; and in the style of persons possessed of more vanity than common sense, gave undue importance to trifling events, enveloping the most simple actions in mystery." *

Mazarin, meantime, watched with anxious eyes the surging of the storm raging around. He smiled at the indolent complacency of Anne of Austria, as she accepted the homage of her adorers; and apparently revelled in her newly-acquired powers of patronage, and favour. He waited patiently, however, for the time when the haughty temper of the Queen should be roused by daily encroachments and demands for place, which, if conceded, would tear to shreds that which Anne so dearly loved—the royal prerogative.

The day after her entry into Paris, Saturday, May 17th, the Queen determined upon the recall of Marie de

* Mém. du Cardinal de Retz, t. i., p. 90.

Hautefort.* Under the escort of the Queen's faithful valet La Porte, Marie had ventured to Paris from Blois, on the rumour of the King's death. Arriving in Paris, they found that Louis was better, and therefore hastily retraced their steps, not daring to appear at St. Germain; as the Queen sedulously withheld her notice, and was reported "ready to make any sacrifice or concession, to consolidate her future power." Anne gave to de Hautefort, nevertheless, more tender memories than to the Duchesse de Chevreuse. The latter, amid the sacrifice of home, kindred, and fortune, to serve the Queen's political resentments, had also followed the bent of her own wayward spirit. Marie de Hautefort, however, had not only repulsed the tender homage of the late King, but was exiled because she refused to enter into the palace cabals maintained by Richelieu; and had been deserted by the Queen, much against her inclination, as a sacrifice which she offered to the Cardinal, in pledge of their new, and mysterious *liaison*. The Queen, therefore, on the day after her return to the Louvre, sent her own litter to meet Madame de Hautefort at Bourg la Reine, and the following flattering note of welcome:—"I cannot wait longer before I despatch Cussy to conjure you to set off to rejoin me, so soon as you receive this. I will not add more, as the condition of affairs, and my recent bereavement, permit me not to renew to you assurances of my affection; the which, however, I shall always give you, and will prove that I remain your good friend, and mistress—ANNE." The Queen received her friend with

* Married Life of Anne of Austria, t. ii. p. 155, for the circumstances of the exile of Madame de Hautefort.

emotion, and reinstated her in her office of *dame d'atours*. In the train of Madame de Hautefort came La Porte. It was remarked that Anne slightly shuddered at the sight of one so intimately connected with two of the most tragic episodes of her past career. She, however, gave La Porte her hand to kiss; and advanced him to the lucrative office of first *valet de chambre* to the young King. The Queen also addressed a missive to Madame de Senécé, affectionately recalling her to court; and offering her the high office of governess to the King, from which Anne on the same day summarily dismissed Madame de Lansac. Mazarin addressed missives of congratulation to the ladies thus reinstated, entreating their friendship.

The important day, Monday, May 19th, at length arrived, upon which Anne hoped to behold her assumption of absolute power sanctioned by the highest court of the realm. At half-past eight o'clock their Majesties quitted the Louvre and repaired to the Sainte Chapelle, to hear mass celebrated by the Bishop of Beauvais. The galleries and vast halls of the Palais were already filling fast with members of the Chamber, with peers of France, with prelates, and with the adherents and relatives, of the great barons of the realm, who, on such occasions, rallied round the chieftains of their houses. The doors were kept by soldiers of the body guard; and a strong body of troops was posted in the hall of exit, called Salle des Pas Perdus. The members of the parliament were arrayed in their scarlet robes; the presidents, eighteen in number, occupied seats richly draped, just below the *haut dais*. At a small square table, nearly in the middle

of the chamber, sat the secretaries of state, de Brienne, Phélypeaux, Guénégaud, Le Tellier, and Boutillier; M. de Chavigny alone being absent. On the dais, to the right of the throne, appeared M. d'Orleans, who was carried into the hall by two equerries, as he was suffering from an attack of gout, brought on by mental agitation. Next to the duke was the Prince de Condé, the Prince de Conty, and the Duc de Vendôme, de Ventadour, de Sully, de Montbazon, de la Rochefoucault, and de la Force; the Marshals de Vitry, d'Estrées, de Bassompierre, de Châtillon, and de Guiche. On the left of the throne were benches covered with cloth of gold, for the prelates; amongst whom, Potier Bishop of Beauvais, almoner to the Queen, appeared in high state, occupying alone one of the benches. At half-past nine, a loud flourish of trumpets, and the clash of cymbals announced the approach of the King, and his mother. Four of the presidents, headed by Molé, and eight councillors of la Grande Chambre, thereupon rose to meet the King. The wide folding-doors of the hall opened, and a magnificent procession advanced. First came the archers of the Grand Provost of Paris, and 200 Swiss guards; then the Duc de Beaufort, at the head of all the officers of the household. Preceded by heralds bearing silver maces, trumpeters, and by four kings-at-arms, came the knights of the Holy Ghost; these high personages were followed by the Lord High Steward, and by the Grand Chamberlain of France. Then came the King, carried in the arms of the Duc de Chevreuse, the train of his violet velvet mantle being borne by the Marquis de Charôst, and by Madame de Lansac. "The

King was greeted with enthusiasm, every one admiring the beauty and the majesty of his features, he being in no wise discomposed at the cheers, or at the multitudes around." Anne of Austria followed her son, led by the Duc d'Usez her chamberlain, her train of black velvet being borne by Madame de Brassac, supported by the Count d'Orval. A veil of black crape covered the Queen's figure, and through which her features were very indistinctly seen. The little King was placed on the soft cushions of his throne by the Duc de Chevreuse. Anne took her seat at the right of the King. Her Majesty presently rose, and bowed first to the King, then to the assembly; she then ascended the steps of the throne, and assisted by Madame de Lansac, raised the little King, and placed him standing on the footstool, whispering words in his ear. For the first and only time on record in his life, shyness seized upon Louis XIV. He blushed, laughed, and finally snatching his hand from his mother, turned his back on the august assembly, and hid his face amid the cushions of the throne. A few more whispered words from the Queen, and Louis marched boldly forwards, saying, with pretty grace:—"Messieurs! I am come here to assure you of my affection. My Chancellor will inform you of my will!" Queen Anne then spoke:—"Messieurs," said she, "the death of the late King Monseigneur, though the catastrophe had long been impending, has so overwhelmed me with grief, that I have been hitherto incapable of receiving consolation, or of holding council. My affliction has been so extreme that I have felt it impossible to attend to the business of the state, or to

the necessities of the realm. In a word, my spirit was cast down with inconceivable depression, until the other day, when your deputies appeared at the Louvre to salute the King my son, to protest their inviolable fidelity to his crown, and to supplicate him to occupy again the most august throne in the world. This prayer, therefore, I have granted, in order to assure you that I shall always be ready to follow your counsels; which I pray you to give to the King and to me, such as in your consciences, and your judgments, you deem to be best." When the Queen ceased to speak, the Chancellor advanced to receive the usual authorisation from the lips of the sovereign to begin his harangue. The Duc d'Orleans, however, rose, and made a step towards the Queen, and then reseated himself in confusion. It was for Monsieur, as first prince of the blood, to propose the abrogation of the edict limiting the powers of the Regent; and to announce the premature resignation of the ministers, in defiance of the oath they had taken in the presence of their late royal master, to maintain his will as to the future government. After meditating for a few seconds, Monsieur again made an abrupt gesture, and addressing the Queen, said, with hesitation:—"That every person must sympathise in her deep sorrow, and approve her conduct. That on the previous Saturday, in the presence of the deputies of the parliament, he had expressed his satisfaction, and had moreover solemnly recorded his conviction, that all honours and privileges ought to appertain to her Majesty; not only out of consideration for her dignity as mother of the King, but as a just homage to her virtue. The Regency of the realm having

therefore been committed to her by the election of the late King, and the consent of the Chamber—a Declaration to that effect having been registered by the High Court in his own presence—he proposed to take that share only in public matters which it might please her Majesty to allot to him; and such being his sentiments, he desired to take advantage of none of the clauses in the said Declaration; but proposed, with the assent of the Chamber, the dissolution of the council of Regency." Monsieur then sat down, looking very hot, disconcerted, and ill at ease. The Prince de Condé spoke next, and praised the generosity of the Duc d'Orleans, who, nevertheless, had made a sacrifice necessary for the welfare of the realm, and the prosperity of the government; inasmuch as affairs were certain to miscarry when authority was divided. He declared, therefore, that he agreed with Monsieur; and reiterated the opinion which he had expressed, on the occasion of the visit of the deputies of the Chamber to salute the King at the Louvre. So far Anne had triumphed, as it had been the resolve of her partisans of the Vendôme faction that she should. There now remained to take the suffrages of the High Court on the subject. The Chancellor then commenced a long and erudite harangue; he expatiated on the magnanimity of Monsieur, and the Prince de Condé, who preferred the public weal to the gratification of personal ambition; he exalted the illustrious lineage, the virtues, the capacity of Anne of Austria, the worthy and honourable consort of the great prince now exalted to a heavenly realm; and he put the question to the members of the High Court,—whether so meritorious and able a

Princess, should not be requested to govern the monarchy with full and entire authority, in accordance with the proposal made by Monsieur uncle of the King, and seconded by M. le Prince de Condé? Acclamations of enthusiastic energy proceeded from the peers' benches, in which M. de Beaufort took part, though standing on the royal dais. When silence was restored, the Attorney-General Omer Talon, spoke on behalf of the Chamber, in reply. After making majestic allusion to the late King, and noting that, like Augustus Cæsar, Louis had expired on the anniversary of his accession; reigning, like King David, during a period of thirty-three years—he proposed that the mother of the King should be declared Regent; having, with the care of the royal person, and of the education of his Majesty, full control over the administration of affairs during the minority of the said King. That the Duc d'Orleans should be Lieutenant-General of the realm, subject to the authority of the Queen. That the said Prince should be declared president of the council; and in his absence, that the Prince de Condé should fill that office. Moreover, that full power should be given to the Queen, to name such persons as ministers whom she deemed worthy, and proper; and that she should not be bound to retain the same council; nor yet to defer to the opinion of the majority of the council. Again murmurs of applause arose; in the expression of many faces disapprobation, however, was visible. One member, more daring than his colleagues, proposed as an amendment—"That, all things considered, the Queen should be entreated to retain in her council men, who under the

late reign had rendered France prosperous within, and glorious in her foreign policy." The speaker was hissed down amid a storm of disapprobation. Séguier then rose again, and bending low before the Queen, asked her opinion and views, relative to the proposition made by his Majesty's attorney-general? Anne modestly prayed to be excused from giving her opinion; adding, that she had no desire on the subject, except to conform in all matters to the will of the majority in the Chamber. The question was then put to Monsieur, who said that he applauded the motion. The same question was then asked in succession to the Prince de Condé, to the prelates, the princes of the realm, the dukes and peers present, the presidents of the high courts, and the counsellors—who all opined for the Regency of Queen Anne, absolute, and unrestricted; and for the nomination of Monsieur as Lieutenant-General of the realm. "Monsieur le Prince de Condé said," relates an eye-witness, "that after the declaration of Monsieur, to whom, as a member of the royal family, the administration in some measure appertained, he could not refuse assent. M. le Prince de Conty gave his vote without comment. The Chancellor then passing by M. de Vendôme, accosted M. de Beauvais, who, after praising the Queen, declared himself in favour of her absolute authority. Afterwards, M. le Chancelier canvassed the dukes and marshals of France, beginning with the Duc de Vendôme. It is to be noticed that all these personages replied, addressing the King, standing, and uncovered. M. le Chancelier next asked the opinion of the members of the High Courts of Parliament. The

president Barillon, said some words which escaped me; but ended by making vehement demand that the Declaration of the late King should be erased from the registers of the High Court; and that a decree should be inserted *conformable to the true intentions of the deceased King;* also, that permission should be given to the Parliament to advise for the welfare of the realm; and to pass a vote of censure on the proceedings of the late government." * The consent of the Chamber being unanimous, Séguier presented a decree bestowing absolute power upon the Queen; which first received the assent of the young King, and was registered with acclamations.

The Queen had now no competitor in her royal functions; and as she responded to the acclamations which shook the venerable roof of the hall, her elation must have been intense. Nevertheless, in the moody aspect of M. de Condé, and in the injurious epithets lavished on the late government, Anne might have discerned the difficulties before her. The great lords and the Parliament, had evidently given her power of independent government under the condition, that they alone were to share it with her. Condé, his son D'Enghien, and Mazarin, had made so easy a transfer of their power, only in expectation that they would again be called by her voluntary act, to fill the posts so vacated. Monsieur dwelt complacently on his functions of Lieutenant-General, which, during a regency, conferred vast influence; and with frivolous *insouciance* took little heed for the morrow. Anne, placid and self-reliant, dissimulated

* Journal d'Olivier d'Ormesson. Mém. de M. Omer Talon, t. i. Registres du Parlement de Paris, Archives du Royaume de France.

ably; the angry resentments and avidity of the great lords had given her the Regency; while her own clever manœuvering had disarmed Condé, and his son M. d'Enghien.

The splendid procession meantime, was again marshalled to conduct their Majesties from the hall of assembly. The heralds blew their trumpets, and the silver clarions echoed melodiously through the long corridors, and courts of the Palais. The Queen took precedence before the King, who looked sleepy and pale. The *séance* had been on the whole a triumph for the court. The members of the Parliament had indulged their spleen in angry comments on Richelieu's system, and adherents: the epithets, "*ce ministre odieux*"—"*cette tyrannie passée: les ministres de l'ancienne tyrannie,*" had been plentifully lavished. One counsellor of the High Court, more poetical in his temperament than his colleagues, quoted the lines of Pybrac—

> "Je hais ces mots, de puissance absolue
> De plein pouvoir, de propre mouvement!"

The Chamber was evidently ready to pronounce a condemnation on the acts, the life, and the system of Richelieu. The sensation, therefore, may be imagined, when it became known that Anne, as soon as she arrived at the Louvre from the Palais, summoned M. de Condé, and the secretary de Brienne, and bade them repair immediately to the abode of M. le Cardinal de Mazarin, and offer him the office of vice-president of her privy council! Anne also sent for Chavigny, Boutillier, and Guénégaud, and reinstated

them, during pleasure, in their respective offices. The Chancellor de Séguier, also, received gracious assurances from her lips, "that she had no present intention of depriving him of the seals." Anne named the Bishop of Beauvais as prime minister, without patent of office; while the Dukes de Vendôme, Beaufort, de la Rochefoucauld, and other chieftains of the faction of Les Importants, she re-admitted as members of the privy council, and of the council of state. The consternation and frenzy excited by these appointments it is impossible to describe. The will of the late king had been broken, and Anne conducted in triumph to Paris, for the very purpose and aim, of overthrowing the past system of government, and of crushing the friends and *protégés* of the late Cardinal; and yet her first act of independent authority was to confirm the hated ministers in their places, and apparently through them, to govern according to the traditions of the past! In reply to the bitter objurgations of M. de Beaufort, Anne explained, with the utmost forbearance and calmness, "that she had not discarded her old friends; neither did she intend to prove ungrateful for past services; but, for an interval, the services of the ministers of her late lord and king were indispensable for the government of the realm—especially the aid of M. de Mazarin, who alone possessed a key to the secrets of state, and the negotiations relative to the wars then pending. That the situation of affairs permitted not the present recall of M. de Châteauneuf; against whom M. de Condé, his consort, and his son, were violently hostile. M. de Beauvais, therefore, had been provisionally intrusted by

her with the chief conduct of affairs; that she (the Queen) desired to see all the subjects of the King live in concord; that she wished to favour neither the faction of M. the late Cardinal, which she had reason to detest; nor yet that of the nobles—but to reconcile them. That M. de Beauvais, in whose capacity she had confidence, needed initiation in affairs of state: finally, that she confessed to some scruples and misgivings, in utterly disregarding the injunctions, and dying wishes of her late lord and husband, King Louis Treize."

The ministers, meantime, arrived at the Louvre, headed by Mazarin; they were received by the Queen and by M. de Condé, and immediately took their oath of office. "It may be imagined," writes M. de la Châtre, "what a shock this news was to us, when on arriving at the Louvre to compliment the Regent, we received this fine piece of information!"* "We consoled ourselves," writes another member of the faction, "by the reflection that the Queen was good and condescending; that our party was powerful and united; that M. de Mazarin was a foreigner, and had no support whatever in the realm; that Monsieur might easily be won; and, finally, that the return of the Duchesse de Chevreuse would work a mighty revolution in affairs." Mazarin, meanwhile, was cautiously feeling his power, and bringing into action every attribute of his wonderfully versatile character. From the hour of the death of Louis Treize, appearing to be penetrated with a conviction of his own future insignificance and unworthiness, he hid

* Mém. de M. de la Châtre, p. 209.

himself from the public gaze. His abode was a small suite of half-furnished rooms in the Hôtel de Clèves; there he shut himself up, denying audience to all persons, under pretext that he was making preparations for his departure from the realm. He declined, after the death of the King, to hold political conferences with his late colleagues, excepting with M. de Chavigny; or to refer in any manner to the important state secrets of which, it was well known, that he alone possessed the key. The Cardinal was not altogether a hypocrite in these demonstrations. He was not, at first, sure of Anne's favour; he was aware of her partiality for M. de Beaufort; he saw that she was an apt scholar, and needed no training in the art of dissimulation; he knew her vanity and coquettish temper; and gave some latitude to the feelings of resentment which he believed she retained against some of Richelieu's ministers, especially against Chavigny. All things, therefore, considered, Mazarin deemed that he could not proceed too cautiously towards the goal of his ambition.

The ministry, therefore, was said to be provisionally composed of Mazarin, Condé, Chavigny, Boutillier, Séguier, de Brienne, de Guénégaud, and of Monsieur Duc d'Orleans. For the first few days all things went harmoniously enough: the saloons of the Louvre were crowded; and persons supposed to be well acquainted with Anne's sentiments, avowed a conviction that the ministry held office only until the return of Madame de Chevreuse, whom the Queen wished to consult on so important a matter. The first occupation of the council was to annul many edicts of the late reign. Most of

the surviving servants of Marie de Medici were reinstated in the posts of which they had been deprived; and all exiles were recalled to France. The great lords, whose rebellion against the administration of the late King had driven them into exile, took their seats again at the council board; and resumed their hereditary functions at court. Nothing could exceed Anne's affability towards the old friends of her adversity; the portals of the Louvre were ever open to them; and at all reasonable hours they commanded access to her presence. By silence, and by a certain air of dissatisfaction, she confirmed the impression that the ministers held office provisionally only, until the return of Madame de Chevreuse. The Queen, moreover, desired that all petitions and appeals should be given into her own hand; saying "that she would herself advocate the claims of her old friends, and support them, is so far as possible, with her royal authority." Anne, doubtless, was sincere in her desire for peace with the faction which had raised her to power; and it is to be believed that her true preference still rested with them. As yet the powers of Mazarin were untested; and his insinuating and compliant manners, as he modestly day by day took his place in the council chamber, gave little indication of the genius of Richelieu; which, in the face of a similar combination had controlled the turbulent vassals of the crown. But for the formidable opposition of Condé, and of his wife, there is little doubt that Châteauneuf would have been recalled to court. Anne, however, dared not now incur the enmity of Condé; or risk the displeasure of the young Duc d'Enghien,

whose victories gave him supreme power over that division of the royal army, called the army of Champagne; and whose wife was the niece of the late Cardinal de Richelieu.

The embarrassments of the Regent, nevertheless, soon commenced. On the 23rd day of May, MM. de Fontrailles, de Montrésor, and d'Aubijoux, arrived in Paris, and repairing to the Luxembourg, requested the protection of Monsieur. Fontrailles and his colleagues, had been condemned to death for their participation in the conspiracy of M. de Cinq-Mars, of which Monsieur had been the chief. They therefore, not unreasonably, requested his aid to re-establish their forfeited civil rights, and confiscated possessions. Monsieur, after the apprehension of MM. de Cinq-Mars and de Thou, had escaped from sharing their arrest, and perhaps their final doom, by the meanest of submissions, and betrayals. Fontrailles, the agent who had negotiated a treaty with the Catholic King for the invasion of France—guaranteed by Monsieur, by MM. de Cinq-Mars, de Thou, and by the Duke de Bouillon—fortunately made his escape to Brussels; where he had lived in penury, until the death of Louis Treize. "Monseigneur!" boldly exclaimed M. de Fontrailles, "your reputation is stained with the stain of disloyalty, like our own. The means left to reconcile our safety and your Highness's honour—for whom we incurred the said peril, and whose word we relied on—is to procure a solemn condemnation, with the repeal of all the arbitrary enactments of the late Cardinal de Richelieu; and to cause the said Cardinal to be proclaimed as a usurper of the royal prerogative, and a

public enemy. In this way your Royal Highness will avenge yourself and us; and wipe out the ignominy unjustly inflicted upon your servants!" Monsieur appeared impressed with this address, and promised to submit the proposition to the Queen. He accordingly, on the same evening, brought the subject before the council, which assembled at the Louvre about eight o'clock. An angry debate ensued. M. de Beaufort, the Duke of Orleans, and the Bishop of Beauvais, opined in favour of the measure; and expatiated on the popularity of an edict which would annul the arbitrary decrees of the late reign, restore every forfeited right, and diffuse a feeling of security throughout the realm. The tried and able men of Richelieu's council listened in amazement at the folly of the speakers; and wondered at the audacity of Monsieur in proposing to them so suicidal a measure. The Queen, evidently much discomposed, at length terminated the discussion by retiring to her cabinet, attended by M. de Condé, and by M. de Beauvais. The latter presently returned, and notified to his colleagues "that her Majesty prohibited the further discussion of the question; and willed that M. de Fontrailles and his friends, should sue for letters patent under the great seal in the usual form." This decision caused a great outcry amongst the returned exiles; the ingratitude of the Queen was railed against; and the advent of Madame de Chevreuse anxiously expected, as the redresser of all these grievances.

A few days elapsed, and fresh demands poured in upon the Queen. M. de Beaufort peremptorily de-

manded the office of prime minister in the room of the Bishop of Beauvais, and that M. de Mazarin might be dismissed; M. d'Epernon sent an arrogant request, that the government of Guyenne might be restored to him, by the deposition of the Count d'Harcourt; M. de Bouillon insisted upon receiving back Sédan, with its fortress and sovereign privileges; and the Duc de Vendôme demanded that the nephew of the late Cardinal, the Marshal Duc de la Meilleraye, should be summarily expelled from his usurped office of governor of Bretagne—his own, by patent from Henri Quatre. The Queen, beside herself with perplexity, tried in vain to preach patience, moderation, and loyalty, to the hungry throng which beset the palace. There is no doubt, at this season, Anne's position was cruel and isolated; and that she was paying dearly for the power, which she had left nothing undone to obtain. M. de Beauvais was absolutely useless as a minister; and his blunders proved a daily source of merriment to his clever colleagues of the council. Chavigny, Anne hated, and only waited for a propitious moment to dismiss. Mazarin was scarcely suffered to speak by the Duc de Beaufort; who one day insolently remarked in public, that "Le Mazarin, it was true, was present in council, to speak when spoken to." It was forgotten by all these hungry claimants, that power was sweet—that Anne was no longer the persecuted, dejected woman, inhabiting an obscure corner of the Louvre—that she was now a sovereign regnant during the minority of her son; and that to be mistress of the realm, even at the sacrifice of some of the hereditary privileges of her old adherents, could

not be disagreeable to her. Their interest was no longer the Queen's interest: the mother of the King of France forgot that she was the sister of the Catholic King, and the late patroness of his admirers in the realm; while distrust had superseded the friendly confidence which she once had placed in the caballers against the power of Richelieu, and the sceptre of Louis Treize.

Within the palace, in her hours of privacy, the same dilemma beset Queen Anne. Marie de Hautefort weepingly protested against ingratitude so flagrant, a policy so perfidious, and an injustice so glaring—that the Queen, having now the power, did not reinstate her friends in the offices of which they had been deprived for her sake. "I have sworn to uphold the crown of my son. Like Louis XII., I will sacrifice my resentment, for the welfare of the King. Let those beware who push me too far!" was Anne's frequent, and menacing response. From Madame de Senecé the Queen endured the same reproaches, though put with less acrimony. Anne, on the arrival of Madame de Senécé, proposed to her to cede her old office of first lady of honour, in exchange for the appointment of governess to the King, and his brother. Anne confessed that the respectful homage of Madame de Brassac had won her regard; and that she would be glad to retain her about court, although the countess had been nominated by M. de Richelieu after the compulsory resignation of Madame de Senécé. The latter, however, clamoured to be restored to her old office, which she demanded in addition to that of *gouvernante* of the children of France—and she succeeded

in compelling the Queen to sanction her appropriation of both these offices. To conciliate the Duc de Beaufort, Anne offered him the appointment of master of the horse, which had remained vacant since the execution of Cinq-Mars. The proposal was refused with angry reproaches, and solicitations for the return of Châteauneuf; and for the dismissal of Mazarin, and of Chavigny.

One of the first acts of the Queen, on her arrival in Paris from St. Germain, had been to soften the rigorous confinement to which the unfortunate ex-chancellor had been condemned in the citadel of Angoulême. Châteauneuf was permitted to leave his prison and to reside in his house at Montrouge: more than this Anne expressed her inability at present to concede, out of respect for the command of the late King. M. de Beauvais, afforded no aid to the Regent thus sorely beset—his futile efforts to fulfil the varied duties of his office, and his confusion, if suddenly appealed to in council, often excited the ready wit, and risibility of Chavigny. When the Dutch envoy went to compliment the ministers, Beauvais gravely assured him, that the alliance between the realms could be maintained only on condition that the people of Holland made a national recantation of heresy! When the High Court marched in procession to compliment him, the bewildered brain of the good Bishop failed him; and his mistakes were somewhat sharply rebuked by the first president de Molé, who took upon himself to explain the constitution of the various courts of the realm. The arrival of despatches from the seat of war proved a sad burden to

M. de Beauvais; whose pale, and jaded aspect when he entered the council chamber on the following morning, betrayed the anxious midnight ponderings, which had enabled him to lay a blotted sheet of incoherent sentences, and erasures, on the table for the approval of his colleagues.

The victory gained at Rocroy over the army of his Catholic Majesty by the valiant Duc d'Enghien, compelled the council to review the foreign policy pursued by Richelieu, from the signature of the treaty of Berwelt; which had united the armies of orthodox France, with those of the heretic powers of Europe, for the overthrow of the dynasty of the Hapsburgs, in Germany, and Spain. This war had been vehemently denounced by Anne of Austria, and by the princes of her party, during the reign of Louis Treize. Anne's feelings, as an Infanta of Spain, were supposed to be deeply wounded by so unnatural a contest; and it had been believed, that the immediate termination of the war, by a separate peace with Spain, would solace the Queen's outraged affections; and vindicate the gratitude owing to King Philip IV. by Richelieu's exiles, for past protection, pensions, and favours. The chieftains of Les Importants, therefore, besieged the Queen with solicitations to terminate "the impious feud" between the very Christian, and Catholic monarchies of France, and Spain; to give ascendancy to her natural affection for her brother, and for her native country; to abandon a sacrilegious alliance with the Protestant princes of Germany; and with the heretic realms of Holland, and Sweden. They besought her to remember that the Empress, consort of Ferdi-

nand III. was her beloved, and only sister; and that France was exhausted by the long war; and that it remained with her to restore the ancient grandeur of the court of France, by banishing Richelieu's *protégés*, who, for the most part, were men of comparatively low origin—whom, in furtherance of his despotic rule, he had intrusted with the chief dignities of the realm. Condé, Mazarin, and Chavigny, on the other hand, exhorted her Majesty to pursue a war so glorious for France; to sustain the hero of Rocroy in fresh achievements; to refuse a private, and separate peace with Spain; to hold the power acquired for the throne by Richelieu's strong measures, by maintaining the men in office who held place only from the crown; finally, to show herself the wise and patriotic mother of the King of France, rather than the willing slave of Spain.

Anne acutely felt her responsibilities: she was ignorant of all preceding negotiations maintained throughout the war; but one man in the kingdom could satisfactorily elucidate her difficulty—and that man was M. de Mazarin. In her distress, the Queen sent for the Count de Joigny, who had discharged important functions under Richelieu at the outbreak of the war, and asked his advice. The Count, who was the father of the Abbé de Gondy, had long retired from the world, having become a member of the community of Les Pères de l'Oratoire. Joigny presented himself at the Louvre, in obedience to the Queen's mandate; but still declining to mingle again in the turmoil of politics, he advised her to consult Mazarin; and by no means to consent

to the re-establishment of the old *régime* in affairs. Joigny then retired to his beloved retreat; after having been gratified by the appointment of his son as coadjutor to his uncle the Archbishop of Paris.*

From that day, Mazarin was admitted to the private intimacy of Anne of Austria. The Queen, on rising from the council table, where a noisy, and confused debate had ensued, on the expediency of suffering M. d'Enghien to follow up his victories by the siege of Thionville, commanded Mazarin to attend her to her oratory; as she desired, and intended to be instructed on many past matters, of vital importance to herself, and to the realm.

In Mazarin, Anne found the aid she needed. With incomparable address, he commenced her political education; and enlightened her without wounding her self-esteem. He frankly confessed, in so many words, that without her positive countenance he was nothing in the realm, and had no pretence to power; that, a foreigner like herself, he had to contend against enmity, and prejudice. He showed her that, conscious of her personal attractions, he estimated at its true standard her capacity; and that experience in affairs was only needed to render her one of the greatest sovereigns in Europe. He reiterated his assurances that the true welfare of France, and of her royal son animated him—and in this declaration Mazarin spoke sincerely. Anne listened with delighted approbation to language so courteous,

* Jean François de Gondy, first Archbishop of Paris, died March, 1654, aged seventy years.

and insinuating, which at once charmed her fancy, and promoted her interests.

The emotions of Mazarin at this period are jotted down in his Diary. These precious documents, called "Les Carnets de M. de Mazarin,"* bear the impress of haste—they consist, in fact, of the brief entries which the Cardinal made in a note-book, which he habitually carried in his pocket. The notes are chiefly written in the Italian language; when Mazarin was more than commonly moved, he resorted to the stronger dialect of Spain: sometimes, his notes are a strange compound of both these languages—but he rarely uses the French tongue. Mazarin's *bête noire* was Madame de Chevreuse; and of Châteauneuf, and M. de Beaufort, he also demonstrated intense distrust. Of the *menées* of the former he was well acquainted; and dreaded the power of her eloquence, and the force of habit over the mind of Anne of Austria. "Il Rosso (Condé) states his belief," writes Mazarin, "that as soon as Madame de Chevreuse arrives she will cause an accommodation between the two crowns (France and Spain), to the exclusion of any other power. If her Majesty wishes to employ Châteauneuf to accomplish this, let her speedily inform me. I have no other desire but to live in amity with those whom she may prefer. All that cabal is in arms against me. Il Rosso tells all the adherents of M. de Beauvais, that he will weed out his opponents; at the same time he sends personages to me to ask my friendship, and to promise me marvels! I know, however, that he secretly instigates

* MS. Fonds de Baluze Arm., t. i., p. 1, Bibl. Imp:

Beauvais to defame me; and also Brienne and his wife. The said Rosso has said, that it would be expedient to sow distrust between her Majesty and myself; and to make her believe that I am devoted to Monsieur, and desire to make him co-regent! Il Rosso really hates her Majesty, and dreams only how he can humiliate her; he, moreover, states that he has the means to do so at his own good time. I am worn out with cares, being mercilessly persecuted—in the first place by Il Rosso (Condé), and by others, who believe that they would make better bargains with her Majesty, if she were not advised by a person so disinterested, and firm as myself. There are certain matters that I dare not discuss, fearing that some evil person will insinuate to her Majesty that I maintain the maxims of the late Cardinal. In affairs there are always two aspects: if her Majesty esteems me, considers me able, worthy of belief, and thinks that I give her good counsel, let her acknowledge it; if not, let her make election of another minister, whom she can trust, which would be more to the purpose than to waver in adopting measures. When I have had the honour to offer her Majesty my opinion, at least she ought to believe that I have given it cordially, and without interested motives. Great efforts are being made to reconcile Il Rosso, with the house of Vendôme—I know not whether it is by her Majesty's command. I am absolutely betrayed by these said princes of Vendôme, although I do my utmost to serve them. Everyone tells me that her Majesty is in her heart inclined to favour M. de Châteauneuf. If it is so, I pray that her Majesty will graciously condescend to inform me; as, if she desire to avail herself of the

services of the said Châteauneuf, I will retire at once, and willingly."

It is a curious trait of Mazarin's subtle spirit thus to record the passing impressions, and rumours of the hour. His anxieties were keen—nor did he disparage the power, or the animus of his opponents; while the coquettish waywardness of the Queen, and her irresolutions, daily prepared him for a reverse of fortune. "Beauvais works incessantly to acquire friends, and to bereave me of mine. He states, that he acts by the command of her Majesty, who has decided upon peace and to retain her present council." These memoranda of his tribulations Mazarin made during the last week of May, and the first ten days of June, 1643, when Paris, and the court waited in suspense, the arrival of the Duchesse de Chevreuse.

Whilst the government at home had to wrestle with the violence, and cupidity of faction, the arms of France maintained abroad the *prestige* of victory. War still devastated Europe; and France remained faithful to the alliances contracted by her late minister. Six great armies, led by the most valiant captains of the realm, maintained the glory of their country against the power of Austria, Spain, and Lorraine. In Flanders, the Duc d'Enghien held the command-in-chief, and gained a victory over Don Francisco de Mello, at Rocroy, on the 19th of May. Eight thousand slain remained on the field of battle, seven thousand prisoners were led captive into France, and nine Spanish standards were sent by Enghien to his father, to lay at the feet of the Regent. The Duc d'Enghien had just completed his twenty-first

year when he achieved this, his first military exploit. The army in Germany was led by the Marshals de Guébriant, de Turenne, and de Gassien. The Duc d'Orleans was the nominal chief of the army of the Netherlands. In Italy, the Marshals de la Meilleraye, and de Plessis Praslin gained renown on the plains of Lombardy. Spain had been invaded by the Marshal de la Mothe, who placed the flag of France on the citadel of Barcelona. The coasts of Guyenne, and of Bretagne, were guarded by a strong naval armament, under the command of the Duc de Brezé, lord high admiral. The duchy of Lorraine swarmed with French legions. Burdened with a foreign war of such extent, and compelled to keep vigilant watch on her wide frontiers, France required a united, and vigorous government. The death of Richelieu, and of Louis Treize, it was however averred, brought to a legitimate termination a war, sullied by the alliance of Catholic France, with the heretic powers of Christendom; and contracted to satiate the private vengeances of the Cardinal de Richelieu. Philip IV., through *les voyes secrètes*, once so familiar to Anne of Austria, proposed a peace to his sister on advantageous terms, but refused to comprehend Holland and Sweden in the treaty; preferring to conclude separate compacts with these belligerent powers, greatly to the detriment of the French crown, which it was thus sought to alienate from its bravest allies. The Spanish court, moreover, hoped to take advantage of the confusion, and hostility of parties in Paris; and to hurry the negotiations for peace; which Madame de Chevreuse had engaged to support with energy, and zeal. During the

deliberations of the council on the affairs of the war, Mazarin had spoken indignantly on the attempt to isolate France, by persuading her to abandon her gallant allies and sign a separate treaty with the King of Spain. He observed that negotiations might be entertained, as proposed by Philip IV. and by his ally, the Duke of Bavaria, without arresting the victorious career of d'Enghien—that the fall of Thionville, one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, would facilitate, rather than retard the conclusion of peace. These arguments were supported by Condé and by the other ministers; but were opposed by the Duc de Beaufort and his colleagues. Anne, after some vacillation, adopted the advice of MM. de Condé and Mazarin; but expressed her earnest desire that the overtures secretly made by the Catholic King should be entertained; and plenipotentiaries appointed to discuss the means of restoring peace to Europe. "Madame," exclaimed Mazarin, "your Majesty has decided like a wise princess. The battle of Rocroy is truly a great, and noble exploit. But this said battle is the conflict only of a day, which will be popularly attributed to the fortune which attended every incident of the late reign. But the use that we shall make of this great victory will appertain in all its glory to your Regency, and to your judgment, and to your courage!"

By the 25th of June, therefore, d'Enghien lay encamped before Thionville, having by a clever *ruse de guerre* feigned to direct his march upon Brussels on leaving Rocroy; thus deceiving the Spanish general, Don Francisco de Mello, who in his panic diminished the garrison of Thionville by 1500 men, to reinforce that of

Brussels. This young hero, whom Mazarin so ardently supported, was the pride and glory of his house. From the age of fourteen the study of military achievements had been his recreation, and delight. He had already made three campaigns, when Mazarin, descrying his genius, induced the late King to confer upon his boyish kinsman, the command-in-chief over the army of Flanders. "M. le Prince (d'Enghien) was born a great captain, which has never happened but to him, to Cæsar, and to Spinola. He has equalled the first, and surpassed the second. Nature endowed him with a mental capacity as splendid as his courage; but, unfortunately, great and wise sentiments were not instilled into his youthful mind; and the rapidity of his fortune, and early initiation into affairs of state, and prosperity, prevented him from acquiring these excellent gifts. This defective education, therefore, was the cause that, with a disposition the reverse of evil, he committed injustices; and that, with the heart of Alexander, he was not exempt from the weaknesses of the latter. Having a marvellous wit, he was betrayed into imprudences; possessing all the qualities which distinguished François Duc de Guise, he did not serve his country as he ought, in certain junctures.... Neither, being endowed with the talents of Henri Duc de Guise, did he avail himself of the opportunities afforded him by the worship of a faction."

This portrait, sketched by a master hand,* truly describes the career of a prince, born to behold himself at one period the boast, and glory of France; and at another,

* Mém. du Cardinal de Retz., t. i., p. 294.

branded as the enemy, and betrayer of the crown. At the opening of the Regency of Anne of Austria, however, the young prince was enthusiastic in her cause, and gracious with M. de Mazarin. He refused all the tempting overtures of the chieftains of Les Importants, and inscribed himself as "her Majesty's very humble servant, and cousin."

CHAPTER II.

1643.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA AND THE CARDINAL MAZARIN.

THE Duchesse de Chevreuse was the guest of the Archduke Don Ferdinand, brother of Queen Anne, when intelligence of the death of Louis XIII. reached her, by express from the duke her husband. Her joy was almost indecent in its manifestation; although with the welcome tidings came a copy of the celebrated Declaration of Louis XIII., which indefinitely prolonged her exile, and for ever banished her from the court of France. The Duchess, however, knew that Anne of Austria held the destinies of the nation in her hand; and moreover believed, that she herself possessed complete mastery over the will, and affections, of her royal mistress. Brilliant visions of the splendour, power, and patronage which awaited her, pleasantly excited the busy brain of the Duchess. The Archduke and his ministers overwhelmed her with distinctions; inviting her to political conferences, during which her opinions, and promises were accepted with deferential attention. The Duchess promised to accomplish marvels for all her old protectors. Queen Henrietta of England, she cheered with the belief that the interposition of France would soon

allay the embarrassments, which already hampered the government of Charles I. To the King of Spain, Madame de Chevreuse predicted a peace, glorious to the old monarchy; with the renunciation on the part of the French, of the pretensions, and enmities, entertained by the tyrant Richelieu. The Duke of Lorraine, who still continued her devoted admirer, she elated by a promise of the speedy evacuation of his duchy by the French; while she comforted the Archduke with an assurance, that the terrible successes of d'Enghien should be arrested, by proclamation being made of an armistice, preparatory to the signature of a treaty between the realms. When the ambiguous conduct of the Regent, and her unexpected retention of the services of M. de Mazarin, Condé, and of the late ministers of Louis Treize, was delicately made a subject of remark in the presence of the triumphant Duchess, her ironical laughter, and repartees diffused comfortable confidence; and for a time, dissipated the forebodings of the enemies of the old *régime*, and of its foreign policy.

The exultation of Madame de Chevreuse, and her wild joy at the prospect of a return to Paris, were sentiments by no means participated in by Anne of Austria. The vehemence of her old friend, her passionate partisanship, the bitterness of her tongue, and perhaps the knowledge, which the Duchess possessed, of the secret intrigues of the late reign, in most of which Anne had tampered, rendered her return an event of doubtful pleasure to the Queen. Anne well knew that the temporising policy which she had adopted, would draw from

the Duchess the most frantic of expostulations. Nevertheless, as soon as the Declaration of the late King was annulled by the Parliament, and the Queen's absolute power as Regent proclaimed, Anne had despatched to Madame de Chevreuse the welcome missive of recall. The Queen believed that her reputation would suffer if she permitted the friend who had sacrificed all to serve her, to languish in penury, and exile. Besides, the clamour of the friends of the Duchess was so incessant, that Anne would have been compelled either to yield to the solicitations with which she was beset; or to break with the faction altogether. M. de Boispille, therefore, carried Anne's missive to Brussels; and found the Duchess queening at the Archduke's court, and still elate with the grandeur of her prospects.

On the 6th of June Madame de Chevreuse set out from Brussels, escorted from that capital by twenty coaches, conveying the noblest ladies of the Netherlands, who affectionately conducted her as far as Notre Dame de Hau. From thence she travelled to the town of Mons, in Hainault, where she rested for the night. On the 8th of June she visited the Spanish army, which lay encamped in the valley of Mons, and was received with military honours by the Duque de Feria. The following day the Duchess proceeded on her journey to Cambray, "being everywhere magnificently entertained by the governors of fortified towns, at the public expense." She took leave of her hospitable hosts at Cambray on the 10th of June, and departed for Péronne. One league from the French frontier she was received by the Marshal d'Hocquincourt, and a grand cavalcade of provincial

noblesse; in the midst of which, sitting in an open car, she was escorted into the town of Péronne, where she was greeted by M. de Campion. The brother of her first husband, Honoré d'Albret, Duc de Chaulne, the King's lieutenant over Picardy, here visited her; and conveyed her in great pomp to his magnificent château, where she spent the night of the 12th of June. From thence she travelled to Roye, where she was met by her faithful friend and admirer, the young François, Duc de la Rochefoucauld, who had been sent by Queen Anne on a special mission of welcome; and by her old friend and admirer, Walter Montague, who greeted Madame de Chevreuse, much to her surprise, as the envoy of M. le Cardinal de Mazarin.

On the evening of the 10th of June, the Duc de la Rochefoucauld had received a private summons to attend the Queen, from Anne's private secretary, M. de l'Argentier. Full of curiosity, and even of hope, la Rochefoucauld hastened to the Louvre, and was in due time introduced into the royal presence. He found the Queen fretful and impatient at the triumphal progress of Madame de Chevreuse. Anne spoke bitterly of the intriguing spirit of her late favourite; and let some hints drop which greatly alarmed the duke, to the effect, "that such parade scarcely befitted a returning exile; or the position which Madame la Duchesse must be content in future to occupy." Anne had been told, and was convinced, that her present altitude rose as an impenetrable barrier between the familiarities, and levity of her late favourite, and herself. "Madame," exclaimed the Princesse de Condé, who cordially disliked Madame

de Chevreuse, and hated Châteauneuf her intimate; "Madame, believe me, the old days can never return. The flightiness of youth, and the love of adventure are bad colleagues for royal state. You are a queen, and a mother; Madame de Chevreuse is hot tempered, and loves dissipation. Her society, Madame, has never done good to living soul; testify, therefore, your old regard by according to her consideration, and pensions; but beware of her intimacy, and of her designs to rule you, and this realm!" "Madame," Mazarin had said, "Madame de Chevreuse returns prepared first to dishonour you, by inducing you to desert the honourable allies of this crown. She will ruin the realm and your popularity!" Walter Montague, also, the old friend of the Queen, and the confidant of many a past intrigue, and panic, warned her not to yield to the importunity of the Duchess; who returned, as he had been warned, prepared to, "undo the domestic, and political acts of Richelieu; and to elevate again those whom he had abased. If you wish for prosperity, and happiness, accept the past, Madame, as *un fait accompli*. Make no family compact with the Catholic King. The mother of Louis XIV. must be a good Frenchwoman!" "Is M. de Mazarin to be trusted? Of what humour and disposition have you always found the said Cardinal?" asked Anne, abstractedly. "M. de Mazarin has the genius, and piety of the late Cardinal, without the harshness for which his late Eminence was famed," replied Montague—who penetrated the wishes of the Queen, and divined how vast was her relief in being able to discharge the weight of public affairs upon Mazarin.

Anne, therefore, had sent for La Rochefoucauld, to command him to meet Madame de Chevreuse, and to explain how affairs stood; also, that M. de Mazarin, with the other ministers nominated in the dying Declaration of the late King, were provisionally in possession of power; "as, before we meet, it will be better that Madame la Duchesse should comprehend what is passing, so that she may elect whether this court is likely to become agreeable to her." La Rochefoucauld gazed on the countenance of the Queen, and hope fell, as he listened to the icy accents of her voice. In vain he represented the fidelity, and talents of the Duchess; her wonderful influence over foreign courts; her misfortunes and afflictions, which all sprang from her attachment to the Queen. "Madame de Chevreuse cannot act as my minister. I will not bring back Châteauneuf to create a sedition against my crown! Let all those who love me submit to circumstances, as I have done; and rather forget their injuries than ruin the realm!" Anne wept a little as she spoke, but her manner continued determined, and distant. "I then represented," writes M. de la Rochefoucauld,* "that her character would suffer from this caprice; and I begged her to consider the sinister interpretation likely to be put upon her conduct, if she should appear to prefer M. le Cardinal de Mazarin, to Madame de Chevreuse!" Anne hastily rose without further parley, and coldly bidding the Duke good night, quitted the cham-

* Mém. de la Rochefoucauld, t. i. p. 218, et seq.; Mém. de Henri de Campion.

ber. "I saw that my words had irritated her Majesty rather than conciliated her," adds the Duke, with *naïve* simplicity. The Duke therefore set out, taking with him the *ecrin* of magnificent diamonds, which, during her exile, the Duchess had deposited for safety in the strong box of the Château de Verteuil. He met Madame de Chevreuse at Roye, after she had taken leave of the Duke and Duchess de Chaulne. She was accompanied by M. Montague, who, as Mazarin's zealous agent, had lost no time in seeking to bespeak her good offices for M. le Cardinal. The old friends met coldly and distrustfully; for Madame de Chevreuse had been apprised of his desertion by M. de Campion, whose letter she received before she quitted the Low Countries; and to discuss which she had summoned the latter to give her *rendezvous* at Péronne. The position of affairs was inconceivable to Madame de Chevreuse. She had never seen Mazarin, and had heard little of his deeds; while the report made to her of his humble, and deprecating manner excited her scorn. Campion had written,—"I do not know what M. de Montague may be empowered to negotiate with you, but I am positive that he will offer you, in the name of M. le Cardinal de Mazarin, money to pay your debts; as it is reported that the said Cardinal hopes to contract a close alliance between you and him. I believe he will not find you disposed to close with this bargain; because your friends here in France, are not on terms with the said Cardinal; also, because he befriends the relatives of the late Cardinal. The advice, Madame, which I presume to offer to you, is, to form no opinion, or resolution until you have seen

the Queen. I apprehend from my experience of your character, that I shall have more difficulty in imploring your forbearance, than in urging you to *act*, in the matter of certain persons upon whom you have done the honour of conferring your friendship. Nevertheless, this consideration apart, and the desire which actuates you of contenting others sailing in the same ship, I do not see the policy of perpetuating hatreds beyond the grave. I loved not the late M. le Cardinal, but I wish no evil to any of his blood. After all, Madame, the counsel which I have the honour to give to you, is but the twentieth part of that which I have to relate; of the which, however, I dare venture to assert that you will be informed after you have quitted Péronne, exactly as if you were in Paris." * Puzzled beyond measure, Madame de Chevreuse eagerly asked Montague for the key to this enigma. Montague replied by going over the old ground of the Queen's necessity, her ignorance of the processes, and negotiations of the late reign, which, but for her recent, and magnanimous decision, would have left the government at a dead-lock. Madame de Chevreuse smiled derisively, applied some contemptuous expression to "il Signor Giulio, and his incredible impudence," in daring to dispute the *terrain* of government with the great lords, her allies. It was therefore with much irritation that the Duchess listened to the same exhortations from the lips of La Rochefoucauld; and received the Queen's message. "The Queen dissimulates—she waits my arrival to

* Cousin, Vie de Madame de Chevreuse.

overthrow the herd of Richelieu's parasites, and placemen! What is this Signor Giulio to the Queen, that she should abandon for him, her promises, her resentments, her natural allies, and alienate the most potent princes of the realm?" The Duchess, however, yielded to the representations of her three friends, Campion, Montague, and La Rochefoucauld, so far as to promise "that she would comply with the spirit *said* to be dominant at the Louvre, in such measure as the interest of her party permitted; undertaking to withhold any rash defiance until she had made herself mistress of the situation."

From Roye the Duchess continued her journey to La Versine, a chateau appertaining to the brother of the Duc de St. Simon; there she was greeted with great apparent cordiality by her husband, M. de Chevreuse. The long separated pair met with outward pleasure. M. de Chevreuse repeated the warnings so distasteful to his consort: he told her that the Queen was changed; that her love of repose, and the arbitrary notions of government which she had inherited, bore her towards the statesmen, the representatives of Richelieu's system; but that the Cardinal Giulio was a man pleasant of speech, deferential to dignities, and disposed to solicit her friendly *bienveillance.* From Roye the Duke and Duchess continued their route to Paris, where they arrived on the 14th of the month of June. Crowds of citizens lined the streets of the capital, moved by curiosity to witness the demeanour of Madame de Chevreuse—the once celebrated beauty, and the adroit *intriguante.* An air of abstraction, however, darkened

the features of the Duchess; while the hardships of an exile of six years had marred the dainty graces, and symmetry of her figure. The *cortège* proceeded at once to the Louvre, where the Queen expected her old friend. Anne was attended by M. de Beaufort, M. de Vendôme, Madame de Montbazon, and other personages, whose political pretensions were greater than their influence. The "Signor Giulio," however, was not present; and but few members of the great cabal of intellect, and enlightenment, which had hailed Richelieu as leader. Anne's tears flowed as she embraced her old friend. She, however, soon recovered her composure, and listened with great steadiness of countenance to the affectionate compliments of the Duchess; and to the messages which she ostentatiously delivered from the Archduke. Once Madame de Chevreuse addressed the Queen aside in Spanish; but receiving no reply, turned in evident discomposure to Beauvais, who had assumed the most deferential of airs towards her as possessor of the talisman likely to break the power of the scoffers of the council, and of the dreaded *clique cardinalisque*. "When Madame de Chevreuse arrived," relates Madame de Motteville, "the Queen seemed to show joy at her return, and treated her pretty well. I, however, perceived that our new minister had tried his utmost to make the Queen dislike her, and see her defects. . . . . Madame la Princesse also hated Madame de Chevreuse; and as the humour of the said Princess resembled that of the Queen, she also had done everything in her power to disgust her Majesty. The Duchesse de Chevreuse, therefore, did not find the Queen the person whom she had left:

the Queen, likewise, sought, in vain, in Madame de Chevreuse the qualities, and graces which once had transported her fancy. Our sovereign had become devout and serious: the *quondam* favourite still cherished the same flighty vanity, and flirting manner, which to say the least are indecorous adjuncts of middle age. Her rivals in the Queen's favour, said that the Duchess intended to govern, and override every personage of the court; so that the Queen dreaded her return, and even had great disinclination to sanction her presence in Paris."* At the termination of her audience the Duchess proceeded to her house, where all the chief personages of the capital paid her homage. Notwithstanding the semi-alienation of the Queen, Marie de Rohan might have regained her influence had she been wise enough to temporize, and to accept matters as she found them. Full of conceit, and bound by many an unwise promise and boastful word, the Duchess suffered herself to become the weapon by which a violent, and arrogant faction, smote at the royal power. She dared to speak disparagingly, though justly enough, of M. d'Orleans; and unwisely refrained from conciliating Condé, his clever wife, and heroic son—threatening to compel the latter "to sheathe his victorious sword, and crave the mercy of the monarch whose armies he had so rashly chastised."

* Mém. de Motteville, t. 1. M. de la Châtre states: "Incontinent après les premières salutations la reine lui dit, (à Madame de Chevreuse) que les alliés de France pouvoient entrer en soupçon si incontinent après son retour de Flandre ils la savoient auprès d'elle; et que pour cette raison il fallait qu'elle allât faire un petit voyage de campagne à Dampierre."—*Mém. Ann.* 1643.

Mazarin, meantime, anxiously watched for indications of the Queen's temper, and resolution. He redoubled his efforts to render himself agreeable during those midnight conferences relative to which all tongues discoursed at court—scandals, first set afloat by the indiscreet comments of the Duc de Beaufort, and by the silent gravity of Mesdames de Hautefort, and de Senécé.* Soon Madame de Montbazon, and the Princess Anne de Gonzague presumed to sharpen their wit at the expense of Mazarin. The Cardinal avenged himself by harmless retaliations on his foes of the council; such as by absenting himself unexpectedly from the palace when important foreign despatches were discussed; or by sending, under pretext of sudden indisposition, a heap of unanswered papers, treating of delicate points of diplomacy, to the helpless hands of "his chief," M. de Beauvais. The demeanour of his Eminence amidst this tempest of envy, and detraction, was edifying in its meekness. "The Cardinal,," writes his most bitter opponent, the Coadjutor de Gondy, "appears ashamed even of his ecclesiastical dignity; and deprecates the honours paid to his rank by the most petty official of the court." His abode continued to be the half-furnished Hôtel de Clèves; in which he had appropriated three small apartments, two of which received light from the roof. His equipage was of most modest description—a coach drawn by a pair of shambling horses, his suite consisting of two servants—"and of these," says the same wicked satirist, "M. le Cardinal.

* Mém. de Retz, t. i.

seemed marvellously ashamed, and uneasy at such display!" When he met any great lord, or lady of the court, in his daily drives about the capital, Mazarin drew up at the side of the street, while he saluted the owner of the pompous equipage. Mazarin generally at this period walked to the Louvre to be present at council: his pleasant smile, and cordial greeting, gave him numberless allies amongst the gentlemen, and pages in waiting; and by their faithful assiduity he learned much of the secret intrigue within the palace—a knowledge, eminently useful amid the perils besetting his person, and fortunes. At the council Mazarin had no peer except Chavigny, whom Anne disliked, and frequently silenced: he, however, never hazarded an opinion unless commanded to speak by the Queen, or appealed to in nervous confusion by M. de Beauvais. The Queen, previously instructed by the knowledge and lights of her minister, was thus taught to speak in council; and to assume that royal prevision, and apparent acquaintance with past and present facts, which afterwards, truly distinguished the political career of Anne of Austria.

The triumphs of the Queen re-acted in the Cardinal's favour during their private interviews. Anne delighted in deference and adulation. She loved to be addressed in the dreamy mystical language of the poets of her native land; and to behold at her feet the handsome and insinuating Cardinal—the man of subtle intellect, and vast learning, who promised that she, and she alone should reign over France, to the discomfiture of the pretenders who now beset her throne, as despotically as

Richelieu, under Louis Treize. The Queen's womanish vacillations and repentings, however, caused the Cardinal many evil moments at this period. The pious nuns whom she patronised, allies of Mesdames de Hautefort and de Senécé, the Bishop of Lisieux, Father Vincent de Paul, and others, showed such a horror at her ingratitude in trusting herself, and the realm to the guardianship of a foreign cardinal, that Anne shrank from their comments. In vain she essayed to calm the hurricane of displeasure, which swept through the Louvre by personal appeal. To her once-loved de Hautefort, on the very day of the return of Madame de Chevreuse, Anne condescended to explain that, "she was compelled to avail herself of the friendship of Mazarin: the reasons whereof being, his indubitable talent; his knowledge of the foreign policy of France; the impossibility of finding a minister to replace him; and lastly, her own dependent condition in the midst of a lawless and aggressive *noblesse,* she having no alliance in France; nevertheless, she believed that the course she was adopting would defend the crown from the usurpation of the nobles, and the rapacity of the democrats of the Chamber." This condescension provoked from Marie de Hautefort the audacious reply—"that France was not without her great statesmen, and had therefore no need of the services of M. le Cardinal de Mazarin, and of foreigners. That her Majesty had not tried M. de Châteauneuf, whose sufferings in her behalf were notorious; that nobody, even a queen, could change politics from day to day with honour; and that after her Majesty had made during the late reign, so notable a stand and protest, against the policy of M. de Richelieu,

she could not, without condemning her past attitude, continue his system; or employ his creatures and ministers. Besides, Madame," continued de Hautefort, "the Cardinal is too young to be your minister. I assure you that much evil, and shameful scandal is already reported." "The Cardinal is too ambitious to care for women," replied Anne, angrily. "I admire and esteem his Eminence, and do not forget that I am the mother of the King. M. le Cardinal aids me to defend my rights against Monsieur, and M. le Prince,—he will act in my interest more purely and fearlessly than those, who, all of them, are attached to one, or other of the said princes by ties of gratitude, or affection!" At the holding of *le petit conseil*,* the same night, Mazarin was duly informed of this conversation, and replied, by blaming the Queen for the familiarity which she permitted; reminding her, that her position being now altered, she ought to make others feel "emanations from her royal Majesty;" and gently, but firmly repress habits amongst her ladies incompatible with the reverence due to the crown. "I observed," writes Mazarin,† "that she ought to demand and exact deference; and that in France respect for the majesty of the sovereign was the shield of the throne: also, that if her Majesty was so gracious to all, no one would esteem her *bienveillance;* ‡ and that it

* The Queen's nocturnal conferences with Mazarin were termed "le petit Conseil." Anne's ladies waited in an adjacent chamber, and the door of the apartment in which the Queen and her minister sat stood half open."

† Carnet, II. p. iv. MS. Bibl: Imp: F. de Baluze.

‡ "Ogniuno entra quando S. M. è in letto, e pure non dovrebbe entrarvi che tre, o quatro persone. S. M. facendo generalmente le grazie farà che

would be well to adopt some of the maxims, and practices of the court of Spain in these particulars." Mazarin doubtless also gave Anne these counsels for his own advantage, as he disliked Madame de Hautefort; and jealously resented her influence over the Queen, and her scornful rejection of his overtures. The Cardinal's enemies, M. de Beauvais and others, deafened the Queen with clamorous iterations of the merits of Châteauneuf, the only tried statesman whom they could oppose to Richelieu's band; but Mazarin rather dreaded the effect on Anne's mind of the moving reminiscences of de Hautefort. The Queen, exhorted to uphold her most treasured foible, was not long in manifesting the effects of the lesson which she had received. It had been the privilege of Madame de Hautefort to remain by the Queen's bed at night, after every one else had departed, to chat pleasantly until her Majesty felt inclined for sleep. The night following her conversation with her royal mistress respecting Mazarin, when everybody as usual had left the bedchamber, Mademoiselle Filandre came up to Madame de Hautefort, and said, "Madame, if you please, you must retire." "Your orders are not for me—you have made a mistake, my good Filandre," replied Madame de Hautefort, gently. "Madame, there are in future to be no persons excepted from the rule," replied the tirewoman. Madame de Hautefort glanced at the Queen, who was sitting before her toilette, and able to hear every word of the conversation. Anne neither spoke, nor made the slightest gesture. Madame de Hautefort, therefore,

nessuno la stimera."—Carnet, II. Such were the instructions of Mazarin in his own words.

wisely took the hint, and departed sorrowfully; feeling, that one link in the chain of her friendship with the Queen was broken.

This, and other similar concessions on the part of the Queen did not allay the misgivings of his Eminence; the return of Châteauneuf to power was the grand test of the princes of Vendôme; and an event which Mazarin had resolved to view as an indication of the expediency of his departure from France. All kinds of rumours floated hither and thither: one day, that the Queen had seen the ex-Chancellor, and had given him assurances of her favour, excusing the temporary elevation of Mazarin; the next, the rumour gained credence that Châteauneuf, escorted from Montrouge by his faithful friend Madame de Chevreuse, had returned to Paris, having been gratified, as a first step in his coming career, by his restoration to the office of Chancellor of the Order of St. Esprit. "Everyone speaks of the ruin of the Chancellor de Séguier," writes Mazarin, gloomily.* "Her Majesty must permit me to observe, that I may well descry peril, as these, (Les Importants) pique themselves on making her Majesty change her opinion after she has publicly declared her resolves. They spread the report that the Queen is the most deceitful person in the universe; and although she appears to prize my counsel, she in fact only dissimulates, having full confidence in themselves." The next day it was reported to Mazarin by Condé, that Anne, in answer to a question which he had put to her relative to the proposed prosecution of the relatives of the

* Carnet, II.

late Cardinal,—a measure vehemently demanded by the faction of the princes—had replied, "that she would consider the matter." To this Mazarin adds, despairingly—"I perceive that her Majesty has no real confidence in me, as when I ask her will on this subject, she gives me no reply." On the next page of this curious journal, the Cardinal notes,—"that the Queen, one evening soon afterwards observed, 'that she wished she knew the way to give me comfort and pleasure when I was with her.' I replied, that my displeasure and affliction, proceeded only from distress at seeing her so badly served, and at the evil plight of affairs, when no remedy can be found from our united counsels; the which troubles me, as I am perfectly persuaded of her great merit, of my obligations, and of the gross ingratitude of those who violate their duty towards her. I further stated, that if her Majesty comprehended the extent of my zeal and devotion, she would regret the little value she vouchsafed to bestow upon my services." Anne, as Mazarin knew, was beset with difficulties: as yet a novice in the science of government, it was not surprising that a state of affairs which would have puzzled the wisest of rulers, compelled the Queen to resort to tears, and dissimulation; or—that in the contest between Mazarin, supported by the members of the Richelieu family, and the House of Condé, against Châteauneuf, and the great hereditary noblesse of the realm—that she should incline to the stronger party, who held possession of the strongholds and treasures of the kingdom. Monsieur, whose co-operation might have been so valuable, was occupied with his accustomed frivolities; forgetting every patriotic

impulse in his childish elation at the public recognition of Madame,* who now resided at the Luxembourg. The Duchess of Orleans had shown energy, and daring; and in steadiness of purpose was greatly superior to her consort. Like all the members of the house of Lorraine, she had a perfect veneration for her race; and confidence in the political *savoir*, and valour of its princes. Her long persecution by Richelieu and Louis Treize, unfortunately, had imbittered her feelings against France, and the members of the royal family; and she had been heard, on more than one occasion, to express doubts relative to the legitimacy of Louis Quatorze, which could not fail to alienate the regard of Queen Anne. Consequently, no intimacy subsisted between the Regent and her sister-in-law; who inconsiderately at this crisis, paraded a friendship with the Duchesse de Montbazon, and Madame de Guémené, very irritating to the Queen.

Mazarin meantime tried the effect of conciliation on Madame de Chevreuse. He paid her a second private visit, and presented her on behalf of the Queen with the sum of 80,000 crowns. A few days previously, he had made the following curious entry into his Diary: —"Had a conversation with Madame de Chevreuse and with the Princess de Guémené; these ladies asserted to me, that without due regard to private, and individual interest, there could be no friendship." Madame de Chevreuse received the Cardinal graciously, and enter-

* Marguerite de Lorraine Vaudemont, daughter of François Count de Vaudemont, and Françoise de Salms. Her father was the brother of Henri Duke de Lorraine, and father of Duke Charles IV., then reigning as Duke of Lorraine in right of his wife Nicole, daughter and heiress of Duke Henri.

tained him with the recital of a visit she had just paid to Châteauneuf at Montrouge. She greatly lauded the talent and fidelity of the ex-Chancellor, and deplored his sufferings, and pecuniary losses. She then, with her most coquettish air, requested his recall and his restoration, at least, to his office of Chancellor of the Order. Mazarin vaguely replied, "that the Queen desired the satisfaction, reconciliation, and attachment of all her servants." Madame de Chevreuse ungraciously retorted, "that the Queen's word was discredited, and every day would become more so; but that she herself was all-powerful over the mind of her Majesty, for at a glance she could read her heart." She then inveighed bitterly against M. Montague, whom she branded as a turn-coat, a Jacques Caillette, for his tame abandonment of Châteauneuf to please the Queen, and to support Séguier, "who, in times past, had degraded the crown in the person of her Majesty, by the ignominious interrogatories to which he had subjected her, by command of the late Cardinal." Altogether, Mazarin departed little content with his visit to the Hôtel Chevreuse. The same night, during their evening conference, the Queen, and the Cardinal, came to the conclusion that it might be expedient to ascertain upon what terms the party of Les Importants, through their mouthpiece Madame de Chevreuse, might be conciliated. At the Louvre, therefore, on the following day, Mazarin plainly asked the Duchess, whether she, and her friends of the adverse faction, would unite to uphold his government; protesting that nothing should be wanting on his part to serve the realm, and to propitiate the princes? The

Duchess, who had had a private interview with the Queen, and whom she upbraided "as being cold and reserved, and determined to persevere in her system of ingratitude," received the Cardinal's overtures with studied slight. She asked, as a first step towards conciliation, that Chavigny, and his father M. de Boutillier, secretaries of state, should be dismissed from office. Anne had never forgiven Chavigny for his hostility, and his disrespect during Richelieu's administration. Mazarin was jealous, moreover, of the shrewd clever statesman, who had possessed, even in greater degree than himself, the confidence and favour of Richelieu. The Queen, therefore, after some hesitation, gave consent to the dismissal of the obnoxious ministers, hoping to restore concord in the council; at which, the policy to be pursued abroad, continued to afford exciting, and angry debates. Chavigny, therefore, under pretext that his services were required at Munster, where a congress was to be holden, was dismissed, and replaced by the future famous Le Tellier, as secretary of state; while M. d'Emery* succeeded Boutillier as secretary of the treasury. These two men, both of them able and intelligent in their comprehension of affairs, were the sworn, but secret friends of Mazarin, and had served under him in Italy. Emery was Siennese by birth, and originally bore the name of Particelli; but had been introduced into the service of the government by the late Cardinal, at the instigation of Mazarin.

Seditious assemblages meantime were holden in the

* Michel Particelli, Seigneur d'Emery, son of a Lyonese banker.

Hôtel Montbazon, to discuss plans to coerce the government, and to obtain the exile of Mazarin. Mesdames de Chevreuse, and de Montbazon, the Duc de Beaufort, the Duc de Vendôme, and the brothers Alexandre, and Henri de Campion, distinguished themselves by their rancour against the Richelieu family; whose ruin and downfall was declared to be a cardinal point of policy. Soon the league was secretly joined by Chavigny, the late foe of the faction. The ingratitude of Mazarin, and the folly of the Queen, Chavigny declared, fretted his spirit more than the tyrannous maxims of the turbulent patricians in league against the court. Emboldened by her success in procuring the dismissal of Chavigny, Madame de Chevreuse further demanded Sédan for the Duc de Bouillon; the government of Bretagne for the Duc de Vendôme; the government of Guyenne for the Duc d'Epernon; and the government of Hâvre-de-Grâce for the Duc de la Rochefoucault. Without these concessions, the Duchess observed to the Queen, that concord could never be re-established; as it was vain to expect that the princes who had been despoiled by Richelieu, would encounter at court the ignoble usurpers of their hereditary offices—many of which had been in their families from the reign of Hugues Capet. Compliance with these demands was angrily opposed by Condé, and his son. The Marshal de la Meilleraye* was governor of Bretagne—a man without hereditary claims,

* Charles de la Porte, Marshal Duc de la Meilleraye. He married, in 1630, Marie, sister of the unfortunate Henri d'Effiat Marquis de Cinq-Mars; secondly, he espoused Françoise de Cossé, daughter of the Duc de Brissac. His son by his first wife, Armand Charles de la Porte, espoused Hortense Mancini, heiress of the Cardinal de Mazarin.

but one of the best officers in the royal service. To degrade so powerful a subject was perilous; added to which, the character of M. de Vendôme offered no guarantee for the future peace of that important province. Under the government of La Meilleraye, Bretagne belonged to the crown: restored to M. de Vendôme, the grandson of Henri IV., a prince renowned for his political treacheries, the duchy would return to that condition of semi-independence of the royal authority, which it had cost so much blood during the late reign to destroy. "M. de Vendôme then might possibly be satisfied with the office of high admiral—degrade the late Cardinal's kindred of Brezé—take the government of Anjou from the Duc de Brezé, and give it to M. de Vendôme—the admiralty to M. de Beaufort, to whom her Majesty owes so much!" insidiously remarked Madame de Chevreuse. The Duc de Brezé was the father of the young Duchesse d'Enghien—M. de Brezé, her brother, was admiral-in-chief of France. The influence of Condé at once negatived the proposal; and Mazarin, with a sigh, informed Madame de Chevreuse "that M. de Vendôme should, on the resignation of M. de la Meilleraye, be restored to his forfeited government, if her Majesty could by any argument be induced to consent." The Duchess smiled insolently; and then demanded prompt, and categorical replies to her other propositions. To restore Sédan to the house of Bouillon was a design which no patriotic minister could entertain. The fortress, and its narrow territory on the borders of France, and the Low Countries, opened a way for perpetual invasion of the realm by Spain;

and its possession in independent sovereignty by the turbulent princes of Bouillon, had, on more than one occasion, menaced the peace of the realm. To its sheltering towers the Queen herself, with her two sons, was to have fled, had the conspiracy of Monsieur, and Cinq-Mars been successful. The Duc de Bouillon owed his life to the clemency of the late King, on the express stipulation, that Sédan from thenceforth should be ceded to the crown, with all rights pertaining to the tiny principality. M. de Bouillon, however, like all the "victims of Richelieu's vengeance," clamoured for the abrogation of the sentence as illegal; with his consequent restoration to the position and privileges, appertaining to him before his arrest. That the proposal received even momentary consideration, demonstrates the anxiety of the Queen and her minister, and their desire to conciliate the opposing faction.

The restoration of the Duc d'Epernon to the vice-royalty exercised by his father, and for some years by himself, over the provinces of Guyenne, Touraine, Angoulême, and Limousin, was a design fraught with not less humiliation to the crown. For sixty years the sovereigns of France had seen their policy within these important provinces neutralised by the insubordination of their potent lieutenant; who declined to accept, and execute their mandates, unless such proved to be in accord with his own selfish interests. The exile of the Duc d'Epernon, during the reign of Louis Treize, restored to the crown its functions, and prerogatives. The Count d'Harcourt, a nobleman of the blood of Lorraine, but devoted to Richelieu, had then

received nomination as royal lieutenant over Guyenne; and conducted the affairs of that puissant province in strict subordination to the government. The proposition to restore Epernon, nevertheless, did not meet with prompt rejection; the minister was willing to concede much; while Anne, whose conscience was disquieted, seemed ready to make any sacrifice compatible with her position as Queen-mother, and Regent. The proposal to take Hâvre from the young Duc de Richelieu, a government administered by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon during her nephew's minority, was not disagreeable to the Queen; and she promised with more cordiality to consider the matter. Mazarin, protesting the singleness of his purpose, besought the Queen to yield in these minor matters, rather than to call to her counsels men, whose retrogressive policy had been rejected at the cost of so much blood and violence, by Richelieu. He represented, that time was the renovator and healer of abuses, and feuds; that a refusal to grant any of the demands of the hostile faction, would irritate the chieftains, and compel a resumption on behalf of the crown of the arbitrary measures, evidently so unwelcome to the Parliaments of the realm; that her Majesty had unwisely sought the confirmation of her power from the Chamber; and that a system, approximating to that established during the reign of Louis Treize, might be found impossible during a Regency. The Queen, however, was reserved, and even sullen, in her manner; and not all the sophistry of Mazarin could palliate, in her opinion, the insolence to which she was subjected. The overbearing conduct of the Duc de Beaufort especially incensed her: this young

cavalier fancied himself irresistible, and had the conceit to attempt to pique Anne's jealousy by his praise of Madame de Montbazon. Sonnets were dropped in the courtyard of the Louvre, and even in some of the antechambers of the palace, instituting comparisons between La Reine de la Beauté, et La Reine des Lis. The Duc de Vendôme and his son, entered the royal presence with a rudeness and freedom, which, in days of yore, would have consigned them to the Bastille. One morning M. de Beaufort entered the saloon, called *le cabinet de toilette*, where Anne granted audiences; not seeing her Majesty, M. de Beaufort roughly pushed past the gentleman-in-waiting, and laid his hand on the door opening into the Queen's private dressing-room. In vain a bevy of ladies rushed to prevent the entrance of the duke—Madame de la Flotte informing his highness that the Queen was in her bath; but would in due time appear to grant her usual audiences at the *lever*. M. de Beaufort, nevertheless, forced his way into the chamber; and only retired when indignantly commanded to do so by the Queen herself, who from behind a curtain had heard the altercation.

The propositions of the lords of the adverse faction had been presented to the Queen some few days, when the last crowning condition of alliance was given into Anne's own hand by Madame de Chevreuse. This was the dismissal of the Chancellor Séguier and the reinstatement of Châteauneuf. Without this final concession, the Queen and Mazarin were told, that nothing could be accepted; for that a ministry entirely composed of personages hostile to the theories of the faction, would place the chieftains in constant peril of their lives, and

fortunes. This article Mazarin plainly declared he would never concede. "If M. de Châteauneuf returns to office, I, Madame, shall retire to Italy." He was resolved not to place about the Queen, a statesman, her former friend, who would become a perpetual source of disquietude. Moreover, Condé also intimated his resolve to retire from court if Châteauneuf was reinstated.

The Queen meantime, with unexpected decision, drily announced in council the resignation of M. de Meilleraye, and her intention to assume the vacant government of Bretagne; and invited M. de Vendôme to act as her lieutenant. It was never known whether this step had been suggested by Mazarin, or was a spice of that feminine malice for which Anne was renowned. The announcement threw the opposing faction into transports of indignation. If the Queen chose, on the resignation of M. de la Meilleraye, to appropriate that high command, no one could object; but the office of lieutenant of a province, even under the Queen's presidency, was a post which M. de Vendôme thought it beneath his pretensions to accept. M. de la Meilleraye, therefore, was reappointed by the Queen as her lieutenant, with powers to act and decree, as if no change had been made lately to impair his functions.

On the rumour of the proposed elevation of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld to the government of Hâvre, Madame d'Aiguillon sought the Queen, and deprecated the project of depriving the young heir of Richelieu of this important office; which she characterised as insulting to the memory of the great Cardinal, and cruel to herself personally. "The tears of this Duchess," says Madame de

Motteville, "caused the Queen to doubt, and afterwards to feel the force of these remonstrances. M. le Cardinal de Mazarin, moreover, confirmed her inclination to leave matters as they were." The pretensions, moreover, of the Ducs de Bouillon, and d'Epernon were debated in council: the Queen was silent during the debate, Mazarin was conciliatory, while M. de Beauvais spoke in favour of the re-establishment of these noblemen. After the council Anne retired; but a summons soon brought the secretaries of state, de Brienne and Le Tellier, to the royal presence, from whence they returned with a message from her Majesty, to the purport "that she wished the discussion on the claims of the dukes to be postponed; as, without negativing their demands, she was not prepared at present to grant their petition."

The clamour which ensued shook the capital—execrations raged against Richelieu and his successor, Mazarin, who refused to render justice, and hurl from their posts the usurpers of the great offices of the realm. It required the consummate dexterity of Mazarin to lull the storm; threatening intimations showered on the devoted head of the Cardinal, who, however, never deviated from the simple routine of his daily habits. The great families of the realm appealed in vain to the traditional maxims of the Holy See, and the loyalty of the prelates of France. The Duchesses de Montbazon and de Chevreuse frowned, and consulted in secret coterie; Condé veered from one hostile conference to another—one day pouring balm on the troubled spirit of Mazarin by confidential avowals; and the next disporting himself in the train of one, or other of the hostile duchesses. His daughter, the young

and lovely Duchesse de Longueville, married to a man old enough to be her father, but who nevertheless offered secret incense to Madame de Montbazon, was courted by the hostile faction for the power she was supposed to possess with her brothers d'Enghien, and de Conty; and over her devoted admirer, M. de la Rochefoucauld. Few persons gave Anne credit for a disinterested support of Mazarin: the handsome Cardinal, and accomplished gentleman, was supposed to rule the inclinations of the Queen as despotically as he aspired to govern the realm. Nevertheless, the state papers of the period, and the anguish of the Cardinal's fears recorded by him in his MS. diary, seem to prove that no supposition was further from the truth. Throughout the married career of Anne of Austria, her intrigues had been ever subject to her ambition. She liked flirtation and flattery; she was conscious of, and loved to hear of the admiration accorded to her brilliant complexion, her fine eyes, and to the faultless shape of her arms and hands; but no vital interest was Anne of Austria disposed to sacrifice, or even imperil, by indulging a passion for any man. Had not the princes so rudely, and even savagely, asserted their rights; and had they shown regard to the Queen's just claims as a sovereign and a mother, and to her charms as a woman, there is little doubt that Anne would eventually, have permitted her old inclinations to direct her policy. Instead of which, the breath was no sooner out of the body of Louis Treize, than they made fierce descent on the prerogatives of the crown: they found the sceptre of the young Louis Quatorze omnipotent; and with threats and revilings, they demanded from the

Regent the instant renunciation of this power. They clamoured for a giant's share of the gold found in Richelieu's well-furnished treasury; and they held seditious assemblages to compel the Queen to reinstate subjects so disloyal, in the fiefs, and over the vast provinces previously wrested from them, for misconduct of the same flagrant nature.

At this period Mazarin wrote, "Beauvais* declares, in order that no memory or trace of the Cardinal's (Richelieu) policy may remain in France, it would be expedient to restore all captured places at the peace. M. de Beautru replied, that even more was necessary; for that La Rochelle, and other dismantled places ought to be restored to the Huguenots! All the princes of Vendôme protest that they will never rest until all the relatives of the late Cardinal are ruined; and all persons enriched by his favour. The Duc de Nemours proposes to demolish the Château de Richelieu and all other châteaux appertaining to the house of Richelieu! In fact, the Vendôme princes, and their adherents, especially M. de Beaufort, set the court in flames." These relatives whom the insane vengeance of the princes pursued, were personages of no less importance than the chieftains of Richelieu, de Brezé, de Condé, de la Meilleraye, de Ventadour, de la Porte, and others. "Il Rosso (Condé) tells me that the Duc de Vendôme is chief amongst my enemies;" continues Mazarin; "for that one day, sitting near him in the Chamber, the said Vendôme declared that his application to the Queen for the government of Bre-

* Augustin Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, Anne's first Minister of State. Mazarin then, filled only the post of Vice-President of the Privy Council.

tagne had not succeeded, because I had given contrary counsel; that it was requisite to remedy such a vile condition of affairs before I had had time to strengthen myself at my post; and that was the reason a great league was formed for my overthrow. M. Vincent (St. Vincent de Paul) saw the Queen to-day, and said to her Majesty, that she was losing her reputation! Alas! all my enemies unite. Madame de Chevreuse animates all! If her Majesty wishes to retain my services, and judges me needful, it is now indeed necessary that she should cease to dissimulate, and show by her actions that she intends to protect me! My enemies often meet to confer, sometimes in the gardens of the Tuileries: and there they speak against the government of the Queen; they are all hostile to me more than ever; and have agreed to get rid of me by other means, should their cabals fail. If this sea of trouble could be calmed, by throwing myself into its depths like Jonah into the jaws of the whale, I would do it, desiring as I do only the honour, and welfare of her Majesty. In short, it is impossible that I can long continue this struggle; for I am compelled to work night and day, amid these alarms and interruptions, to despatch my duties! Daily I receive a thousand warnings to take care of my life."*

The Queen's private life, meantime, passed not more smoothly than that of the Cardinal. In public Anne was silent, and constrained; in private she mourned over the impertinent *cancans* of the palace, which were sedulously retailed to her by Mesdames de Hautefort,

* Carnet 2e, Bibl. Imp.; MS. de Baluze Arm. vi.

and de Senécé. Her daily interviews after ten in the evening with Mazarin, horrified the pious de Hautefort, the scrupulous de Senécé, and the prudish la Motteville. "Madame de Hautefort," relates an eloquent modern writer,* "blushed, and shuddered at the rumours current respecting these night conferences; when Mazarin remained alone with the Regent under pretext of instructing her in affairs. In the eyes of Madame de Hautefort, affairs of state counted for very little in comparison with the eternal salvation of the Queen. She believed that religion and honour, those two idols of her heart, were compromised by appearances—and appearances, at least, were against Anne of Austria." Assuming, therefore, that evil lurked under the sombre indication of evil, Marie de Hautefort besieged, and scandalised the Queen with her comments. To give greater weight to her exhortations, she enlisted the support of the famous St. Vincent de Paul, and encouraged him to speak to the Queen. Anne listened with astonished patience; and dismissed the Father, without allusion to his discourse, with a substantial benefaction, for the support of his missionary labours. The solicitations of M. de Beauvais, whose jealous hate of Mazarin was rousing even his torpid temperament, induced the Bishop of Lisieux, a prelate, brother of Madame de Senécé, to remonstrate against the excessive liberty conceded to Mazarin. The Count de Joigny again emerged from his convent cell to warn her Majesty, "that the midnight conferences of a beau-

* M. Victor Cousin: Vie de Madame de Hautefort.

tiful woman of forty-two, and a man of forty, could not be indulged in with impunity." Anne refused to comprehend the sinister meaning. "I am the mother of your King!—the welfare of France is my earnest care!" replied she, with dignity, to M. de Joigny. The convents joined in the pious crusade against Mazarin. Anne had restored her old friend Louise de Milly, to her former position as the Abbess of Val de Grâce. This friend of the days of her humiliation returned, changed, as it was Anne's lot to find all her old allies, in the day of her power. The abbess besought her royal patroness to forego her friendship for Le Mazarin —to make peace with Catholic Spain, and to govern France by a Frenchman. She pathetically recalled the sorrows which had befallen them during the late reign; eulogising the courage and devotion, of Madame de Chevreuse. "Is it possible, Madame, that you abandon your friends, and turn their persecutor? and that the same evil system of terror and despotism, is to be continued under your sceptre!" Anne made no reply, neither did she evince displeasure. To the abbess of the Carmelite convent, however, the Queen, on hearing a repetition of "the cruel slanders," declared, "that if another word was addressed to her on the subject of M. de Mazarin, she would never more visit that convent!" The prioress of the Carmelites of Pontoise alone—the strong-willed sister of Séguier—consoled Anne under these assaults; and encouraged her to govern the kingdom by true men and patriots, rather than, by an aristocratic clique, dependants of his Catholic Majesty. These inuendoes greatly indisposed

the mind of the Queen against Madame de Chevreuse, and others: still Anne showed forbearance; nor was yet ready to abandon her old partisans to the resentment of Mazarin.

An incident, however, occurred which more deeply irritated the Queen than any previous objurgation. La Porte, who had suffered the horrors of the Bastille in her cause, and whose faithfulness had even elicited an ejaculation of admiration from Richelieu,* now enjoyed peculiar privileges of access to his royal mistress. One day, after the rising of the council, Anne, attended by Madame de Senécé, stood near a window listlessly debating what should be the pastime of the evening. La Porte entered, the bearer of a message from the little King to his royal mother. When Anne had given her answer, she turned pleasantly towards La Porte, and said,—"Well, La Porte, what is the last story current about me?" The latter hesitated, and gravely replied, "Madame, everybody speaks against you, and his Eminence, in a manner and tone which ought to make you reflect. Your repute has placed you where you now are; and your virtue saved you from your enemies. Madame, France saluted you, and took you for its consolation on the death of the late King. The people proclaimed you, even before Parliament had pronounced on your claim as Regent of this realm. Nevertheless, if you afford occasion to your enemies to defame your character, all this your popularity will vanish!" "Who told you this?" asked the Queen, angrily. "Is it M.

* See Married Life of Anne of Austria, chapter i., vol. ii.

le Prince, or some other enemy?" "I replied," complacently relates La Porte, "that since her Majesty owned that she had enemies, the knowledge ought to make her careful." Anne impatiently tapped the window with her fan, and, turning her back on La Porte, contemptuously replied, "M. la Porte, when no evil is done, nothing need be feared!" "I replied," relates La Porte, "that appearances ought to be kept, for people believed what was said, when they had no means of ascertaining what was done." A gesture from the Queen dismissed her audacious servant. Anne repaired to her private apartments, sorrowful and depressed; but probably would have dismissed the offence from her mind, had she not found, some few days subsequently, a letter, filled with the grossest accusations and surmises, hidden between the sheets of her bed. Anne read the document, and commanded the presence of Mazarin, in a voice inaudible almost with emotion. From that hour, La Porte, whom the Queen suspected, lost his privileges; but though Anne had resolved on his dismissal from the household of the King, the mandate, at the wish of Mazarin, was suspended. Madame de Hautefort also, declined in favour. Anne now realised the wisdom of the counsel given by Mazarin —"to cause the royal Majesty to be respected in her person; and to discard undue familiarity with those around." The deeper the Queen's embarrassments became, the more firmly she relied on the skill, and tact of Mazarin. An event, meantime, happened which threatened the government, the court, and society itself —as then organised in the aristocratic circles of the

capital—with collapse. This was the quarrel between the Duchesses de Montbazon, and de Longueville—important, because these ladies represented the rival factions, which since the death of Louis Treize had been in conflict. "The providence of God," says the sententious Madame de Motteville, "ordained that this great feud, which threatened to embroil court and capital, was the very cause which gave stability to the government, and settled our long pending feuds."

The Duchesse de Montbazon, the young step-mother of the Duchesse de Chevreuse, dazzled the court by her beauty. Her portrait, drawn by Tallemant, Madame de Motteville, and others, describes her as a woman of stately presence, of dazzling complexion set off by shining tresses of black hair, which she dressed in so bewitching a manner as to set the fashion to all the ladies of the court. The gentlemen of the court all dubbed themselves knights of the beautiful duchess: her conquests extended from the subjugation of the frivolous heart of Monsieur, to that of Rancé, the future great reformer of La Trappe. Pleasure, money, and many of the evil vanities of life, were dear to Madame de Montbazon: for them she sacrificed everything. In every beautiful woman she saw a rival—in every opponent of her favoured knight a mortal foe. The Duchess at this period held in her wiles the Ducs de Longueville, and de Beaufort. The pure repute of the young Duchesse de Longueville had elicited, therefore, the deadly enmity of Madame de Montbazon. Jealous of her influence over the literary circles of the capital, and of the royal rank of her rival, Madame de Montbazon determined

to mar a career so brilliant, and promising; and to gratify her political animosity against the daughter of Condé, and the wife of the man who had succumbed to her guileful arts. Under the melting graces of manner which distinguished Madame de Longueville, a bold spirit slumbered. A true daughter of Condé, she despised the meretricious beauty of her rival; and discerned the ignoble, but violent spirit that animated her. The semi-defection of M. de Longueville, his wife took with fortitude: his rank and wealth had allied him to the house of Condé; but his reserved manner and gravity of disposition, rendered him nothing more than "Monseigneur" to the graceful woman who bore his name. No stigma of any kind had, however, at this period, sullied the repute of Madame de Longueville; her star shone blameless at the court of Anne of Austria. Adorers, nevertheless, she had; chiefly, however—with the exception of the Count de Coligny, and the Duc de la Rochefoucauld—recruited from the ranks of the younger cavaliers—*débutants* of the court. The almost irresistible attraction of three such beauties as the Duchesses de Montbazon, and de Chevreuse, and the Princesse de Guémené,* wife of the young heir of Montbazon, women gifted with subtle arts, adepts in allurements, and restrained by no superfluous decorum, daily filled the saloons of the Hôtel de Montbazon with worshippers. Three times a week Madame de Montbazon held her saloon: on those days the enemies of Mazarin mustered in force. Seditious expedients for coercing the Queen were discussed;

* Anne de Rohan.

witty jests from beautiful lips blasted, or impaired many a spotless repute; while Madame de Montbazon and her friends, daringly discussed political questions, as if the will of their *coterie* alone, had set the crown of St. Louis on the brow of the young Louis Quatorze. At one of these *réunions* two anonymous letters were picked up from the floor of the saloon by a maiden of the Duchess, who dutifully handed them to her mistress. No person of the assemblage owning the letters, Madame de Montbazon, after glancing at their contents, stepped forwards and proposed to read them aloud. Shouts of laughter, and impertinent comments interrupted the reading; and guesses were made as to the writer, and to the receiver of the letters. Madame de Montbazon thereupon, suddenly exclaimed, that she recognised the handwriting of the letters: and declared that they had dropped from the pocket of Count Maurice de Coligny, who had just withdrawn from the company; and that they were addressed to him by Madame de Longueville! Whether the assertion gained credit or not, the word was given by the Duchess, and the fact whispered from saloon to saloon throughout the capital by the lips of frail beauties; and was proclaimed everywhere with rude and coarse merriment, by the Duc de Beaufort, and his colleagues of the faction. There was, nevertheless, nothing compromising in the letters, nothing brilliant; they were not even *piquante*: their text, preserved to us by the pen of Mademoiselle, simply reproaches the person addressed with cold neglect; and declined further communication, or interchange of visits, while making cursory allusion to former passionate

intercourse. The letters were in reality written by Madame de Fouquerolles, to the handsome Marquis de Maulevrier; and had been dropped by the latter in the saloon of the Duchesse de Montbazon.

The descent of an army of Spaniards on the capital, could not have produced a greater panic than the scandalous charge against the fair fame of Geneviève de Bourbon. The Prince de Condé, and the Duc de Longueville indignantly denied the imputation; and the former was with difficulty restrained by Mazarin from sending an express summoning the Duc d'Enghien to avenge his sister's honour. Menaces hissed from every mouth, and encounters took place in the street. The palace of the Duc de Montbazon swarmed with gallant gentlemen, who offered support against the powerful confederacy of princes of the blood, and the friends of Richelieu, arrayed to punish the reckless slander. The doings in Paris, meantime, reached the camp before Thionville, and so transported the fury of the Duc d'Enghien, that he set forth *en route* for Paris, having first advertised his father of his intended journey. When Anne was informed of this fresh *imbroglio*, she, by the advice of Mazarin, addressed a missive to d'Enghien, forbidding his presence in Paris; but promising to adjust the quarrel by royal authority. The Duke obeyed the missive; but forwarded to Paris injunctions to his consort, and to her kinsmen, to follow the commands of his mother during the adjustment of the affair. Anne, thereupon, sent for de la Rochefoucauld, and commanded him to inquire into, and if possible settle the quarrel; the details of which had been reported

to her under very different aspects by the Princesse de Condé, and the Duchesse de Chevreuse, who violently espoused the quarrel of her young step-mother.

The true writer, meantime, of the luckless love epistles, quailed in dread at the exposure which might be necessary to heal the honour of a princess of the blood. Maulevrier, therefore, privately called upon the Duc de la Rochefoucauld his friend, and confessed the secret; praying the Duke to help him out of the dilemma, but to conceal the name and rank, of his fair correspondent,* who, like Madame de Longueville, had fled from Paris in despair. La Rochefoucauld immediately waited on Madame de Montbazon, and represented, that she had better of her own free-will, make reparation for her indiscreet slander, as he had reason to believe that Madame de Longueville was innocent. The Duke, out of regard for the feelings of Madame de Montbazon, omitted to state that the true writer of the letters was known to him; which timely declaration, by clearing away doubt, might have obviated future trouble. Persuaded by his eloquence, Madame de Montbazon delivered up the original letters; stating at the same time, that although written in a feigned hand, her conviction was not shaken that Madame de Longueville had addressed them to M. de Coligny, "who had become weary of her *fadaises*." The letters were carried by La Rochefoucauld to the Princesse de Condé, who received them in the presence of her husband, of the Duc de Longueville, and of Mesdames de Rambouillet, and de Sablé, friends of

* Madame de Fouquerolles—Jeanne Lambert d'Herbigny.

her daughter. The Princess, attended by the above-mentioned high personages, then repaired to the Louvre, and asked audience of her Majesty. Admitted to the Queen's presence, Madame la Princesse gave the letters to Anne, who handed them to Mazarin, by whom they were read aloud. With her own fair hands the Queen then burned the letters, declaring that no blame or reproach rested on the stainless reputation of Madame de Longueville.* Here the affair ought to have rested, as it would have done in more propitious days. The Prince de Condé declared himself satisfied; while the Duc de Longueville expressed a decided opinion that the good name of his consort would be better respected by consigning the unfortunate feud to oblivion. Charlotte Marguerite de Montmorency, Princesse de Condé, however, wished to extract political vengeance from the affair; and to pursue the insolent faction which, in addition to the defamation of her daughter, wished to place Châteauneuf in office; and to confiscate the vast estates bequeathed by the late Cardinal de Richelieu to his kinsmen. The mortification which had fallen on the Condé family by the marriage of its glorious heir d'Enghien, with the late Cardinal's niece, had been assuaged by the vast dowry which she brought her husband. To lose the patrimony, and to keep the comparatively low-born bride, was an idea utterly exasperating to the proud mind of the Princess. Madame de Condé, therefore, declared herself to be by no means satisfied by the simple surrender of the letters, unless

* Cousin, Vie de la Duchesse de Longueville; Journal d'Olivier Ormesson. Motteville; La Rochefoucauld; Aubéry, Vie de Mazarin.

Madame de Montbazon also consented to make an apology in public. This humiliation was declined in no measured terms by Madame de Montbazon. Again was the capital ablaze with fierce threats; and the arrival of M. d'Enghien, to chastise the obdurate slanderers of his sister's fame, was once again anticipated. From both sides Mazarin received overtures, and promises. The wily statesman smiled and reassured Madame la Princesse; while he comforted Mesdames de Montbazon, and de Chevreuse, by genial sympathy. Could he have placed faith in the professions of Madame de Montbazon, who offered him the alliance of Vendôme, Beaufort, Guise, and Chevreuse, he probably might not have hesitated in his election. Condé had ever given him stable support; but Vendôme, to use the Cardinal's own words—"obloquy, dishonour, and peril."

Madame la Princesse at length informed the Queen, that unless she supported the honour of Condé, M. le Prince would retire from Paris. Anne liked the Princess, and was easily moved by her representations. She disapproved of Madame de Montbazon; and felt piqued that the name of the latter should have been linked with her own, as a rival for the bold admiration of M. de Beaufort. She therefore paid a visit to Madame de Longueville, who had retired to the Château de Barre on the first outbreak of the feud. On her return, Anne, with much decision, signified to Madame de Chevreuse that the Duchesse de Montbazon must wait upon the Princesse de Condé, and read an apology which she intended to have drawn up under her own inspection. If Madame de Montbazon declined to make this repara-

tion, the Queen would adopt other, and more stringent methods of vindicating the honour of her kinswoman, Madame de Longueville. In vain Madame de Montbazon protested, and rebelled—the Queen insisted upon obedience. Elate with her triumph, Madame de Condé declared that her Majesty had but done justice to the royal blood; as it would have been too flagrant to permit the granddaughter of a cook* to beard a princess of Bourbon! Madame de Motteville gives an amusing narrative of the scene in the Louvre, when the Queen, Mazarin, and Madame de Chevreuse met to concoct the apology. "The Queen sat in her large saloon with Madame la Princesse, who sat panting, inflamed and terrible, as if this affair had been at least a matter of high treason. Madame de Chevreuse remained with the Cardinal de Mazarin to compose the harangue, which Madame de Montbazon was to deliver. There was discourse of an hour over every word; the Cardinal in a fuss, went first from one lady to the other to accommodate the dispute, as if the welfare of France hung on their reconciliation. It was finally arranged that on the very next day the criminal should repair to the presence of Madame la Princesse, to speak what had been agreed upon." The following evening, therefore, the culprit repaired to the Hôtel de Condé. The words, she was to say, were written on a small scrap of paper, and pinned inside her fan: and it had been

* The mother of Marie de Bretagne Duchesse de Montbazon, was Catherine Fouquet, daughter of the Marquis de la Varenne Fouquet, *ecuyer de cuisine* to King Henri Quatre. Catherine Fouquet married Claude de Bretagne, Count de Vertus.

decided, with very little regard to truth or to fact, that she should deny that she had given countenance to the slander circulated to the discredit of the Duchesse de Longueville. Never had a more crowded assembly gathered within the gorgeous saloon of Madame la Princesse. Mazarin appeared as the representative of Queen Anne. Madame de Montbazon slowly traversed the apartment, and approached the canopy under which sat Madame de Condé, cold and calm, but still adorned by the beauty which long years ago, had ravished the heart of Henri Quatre. Madame de Montbazon approached, closely attended by the Duc de Beaufort, with a saucy flirting air. The Duchess opened her fan, and began to speak with an air of "*je me moque de ce que je dis,*" says Madame de Motteville. She omitted the word "Madame," at the opening of her address; and had to be reminded of her omission, and ordered to begin again by Mazarin. "Madame," said she, "I am here to protest to you that I am innocent of the wicked malice of which I have been accused; no person has a right to attribute to me such a calumny. If, indeed, I had committed a mistake so egregious, I would have suffered any penalty which the Queen might have imposed: I should have asked your pardon, and have retired from the world. I beg you to believe that I shall never fail in the respect which I owe you; nor falter in the opinion that I entertain of the virtue, and the merit of Madame de Longueville!"

Madame de Condé shortly replied:—"Madame, I willingly receive your assurances that you have no part in the wicked story which has been circulated. In this

matter of expressing my satisfaction, I obey the commandment which I have received from the Queen."

The deportment of Madame de Montbazon, and the manner in which she swept from the saloon, followed by an admiring escort of cavaliers, increased the anger of Madame de Condé. She, therefore, next obtained permission from the Queen to absent herself from court festivals at which the Duchesse de Montbazon was likely to be present—a determination very mortifying for the latter, acting as it did as a virtual exclusion from society, on occasions of high state. Matters having progressed so far, a suspension of the quarrel was expected, especially as M. de Coligny retired from Paris, in obedience to the commands of the Queen; when another outbreak of indiscretion on the part of Madame de Montbazon, renewed the animosity. It was the frequent custom of the Queen, after driving along Cours la Reine, to spend the summer evening, and to partake of a light collation in the Jardin Renard. This garden was then the most fashionable resort of Paris; and was situated at the end of the garden of the Tuileries, in the left angle of what is now the Place Louis XV. There, on the conclusion of the fashionable promenade on Cours la Reine, gallant cavaliers, and beautiful ladies assembled, *au clair de la lune*, to drink chocolate, to flirt, and to listen to charming serenades of music. One evening, therefore, Madame de Chevreuse asked Anne to alight from her coach, to partake of fruit and chocolate, including Madame la Princesse in her invitation. The Princess hesitated, but the Queen observed that, as she had been informed, Madame de Montbazon

was indisposed, it was not probable that she would show herself in public that evening. Madame de Condé therefore attended her royal mistress to the garden. On arriving at the pavilion reserved for Madame de Chevreuse, the Queen was surprised to see the Duchesse de Montbazon; who boldly advanced to receive the royal party. Madame la Princesse, not to be so entrapped, made her reverence to the Queen, and was retiring. Anne, however, restrained her from departing, and with heightened colour, summoned Madame de Chevreuse, and expressed a desire, "as Madame de Condé had been persuaded by her assurances to accompany her to the garden, that Madame de Montbazon should feign indisposition and retire." This request the Duchess positively refused to comply with, and even advanced to address the Queen. Anne passionately waved her away; and without a word retired in company with the Princesse de Condé.*

The following day Madame de Montbazon received a *lettre de cachet*, which exiled her during pleasure to the château de Rochefort. Fresh agitation convulsed the factions of the capital; the Count de Coligny challenged the Duc de Beaufort to mortal combat in vindication of the honour of Madame de Longueville. The Duc d'Enghien, frantic at the report sent him of the insults offered to his mother and sister, also challenged M. de Beaufort, and the Duc de Montbazon. As for

* Journal d'Olivier d'Ormesson. A fact that greatly increased the Queen's displeasure was, that after her departure the Duchess de Montbazon sat down, and supped heartily on the refreshments provided for Anne's entertainment.

Madame de Montbazon, she resigned herself to her fate. Before she quitted Paris, she was present at a secret political conference with Madame de Chevreuse, the subject discussed, being not only the overthrow of the political power, but the assassination of Mazarin, whose influence over the Queen seemed to be daily on the increase. Of all Mazarin's enemies, M. de Beaufort and his father were the most vindictive; and now that the former had received fresh provocation by the summary exile of the woman whose colours he wore, nothing could surpass his fury. Fresh impetus was added to his malice when, after repairing to the Louvre to present a humble letter written by Madame de Montbazon to the Queen; and to request, that in consideration of his intercession she might be forgiven an error of temper, so pardonable in a beautiful woman, Anne coldly took the offered missive, saying, "that she would consult M. le Cardinal, and advertise Madame de Montbazon if any indulgence could be vouchsafed; nevertheless, she advised that lady to continue her preparations for departure." The duke, during his interview, ventured upon some depreciating remark relative to Madame de Longueville. Anne sharply replied, "that the mad enthusiasm displayed by M. de Beaufort for Madame de Montbazon appeared to her, and to others, as a mean kind of revenge on Madame de Longueville for having once rejected his suit." Beaufort therefore quitted the Louvre, ready to involve himself in any plot for the destruction of Mazarin.

M. de Châteauneuf, meantime, the hero of the hostile faction, remained at his country mansion of Montrouge, enjoying his release from captivity. The ex-keeper of

the seals appears not to have been possessed by the eagerness displayed by his partisans for his resumption of office. Châteauneuf descried the perplexities which beset the government; more enlightened than his feminine allies, he understood the Queen's difficulties, and was conscious that if promoted himself to the supreme control of affairs, he must inevitably disappoint the ambition of the princes; inasmuch as, no loyal subject could abase the royal power by the ignominious surrender again of the prerogatives secured to the crown, under Richelieu's policy of repression. Châteauneuf would have gladly accepted the compromise suggested by his old ally, Madame de Chevreuse, and have entered the cabinet with Mazarin, prepared to support a policy sustained by the goodwill of Condé, and of his son d'Enghien. The unextinguishable jealousy of Mazarin closed the hope of a coalition. When M. d'Avaux was appointed, during the month of September, 1643, to proceed to Munster to negotiate peace, Madame de Chevreuse in vain importuned the Queen to admit Châteauneuf into the cabinet, even in the humble capacity of prompter and adviser, to the president Bailleul, superintendent of finance; who needed the aid of d'Avaux, as M. de Beauvais did that of Mazarin. "Once get M. de Châteauneuf again at the privy council-table, and he will need no further patronage!" had been the significant words of Madame de Chevreuse, when reproached by her friends for her apparent disregard of the dignity of the ex-Keeper of the Seals.

The glorious termination of the siege of Thionville, meantime, distracted public attention for a brief interval

from these miserable cabals. The very commotion created in the capital by the intrigues of two unprincipled women, formed the best apology for the supreme power with which the Queen seemed inclined to invest her minister. On the 22nd of August, 1643, Thionville surrendered to the Duc d'Enghien; who by this conquest became master of the whole course of the river Moselle, down to the gates of Trèves. Once more the frontier of Germany was open for the invasion of a French army, to avenge the retreat of the Maréchal de Guébriant; who had been compelled by the Imperial general de Mercy, to fly into Alsace; and there lay encamped near to Sarrebourg.

During this interval, the plenipotentiaries at Munster, were pursuing their fruitless negotiations. Spain was averse to signing a general truce, but wished to complete private treaties with France, Holland, and Sweden. The Queen wrote with her own hand* to the Duc d'Enghien, assuring him that no private compact with Spain should bring the war to an inglorious termination. This was one of Mazarin's early triumphs—and he deemed it a victory to have been able to persuade Anne of Austria to reject the overtures of her brother the Catholic King; who had offered to come to terms with France, through the comfortable ministrations of his Queen Elizabeth of France, the Duchesse de Chevreuse, and the Archduke, governor of the Low Countries. These solicitations, which once would have proved so tempting, Anne had the strength to reject; nevertheless, had the faction opposed

* MS. Bibl. Imp. Fontanieu, No. 490-491. Anne commences her letter with the words: "Mon désir, c'est au milieu de mes prospérités de songer toujours à la paix."

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to Mazarin proved more compliant, and less grasping, the family compact proposed by Philip IV. might not have been so distasteful. The plenipotentiaries of France were MM. de Chavigny, d'Avaux, and the Duc de Longueville. England was represented by Lord Goring; who had received instructions to support the wishes of the Catholic King, respecting the special treaties of peace with each belligerent, which the Spanish cabinet desired to obtain. The Spanish ambassador was Don Diego de Saavedra, whose clever despatches to his master, touching on the position of affairs in France, are the only relics of any value, resulting from the ponderous debates at Munster.

CHAPTER III.

1643.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA, THE DUC DE BEAUFORT, AND LES IMPORTANTS.

THE disgrace of Madame de Montbazon gave the Queen some respite. The busy caballers besetting the throne were confused, and somewhat daunted by that summary measure, which appeared to emanate from the will of the Queen herself. Mazarin's friends now united in directing Anne's attention to the fact, that personages so imprudent and impolitic, as the lords of M. de Vendôme's faction, were not likely to be able public administrators; and that she ought, therefore, to regard, before all things, her own repose, and the welfare of the realm. Anne acquiesced; and from thenceforth intimated that she would make no further concessions. She thereupon sent for Monsieur, and apprized him with much suavity of manner "that she could not tolerate his residence in Paris unless he supported the policy of the deceased Cardinal de Richelieu, and renounced his intrigues; that she had resolved to maintain M. de Mazarin in office, conjointly with M. de Beauvais; and that the foreign policy of her government would henceforth be, to oppose the domination of the Spanish King, whose power had

been so gloriously checked by M. d'Enghien."* "It would be better, therefore, for your Majesty, if a stranger sat on the throne of France, rather than your Majesty's sister!" wrote Don Diego de Saavedra indignantly, to Philip IV.: "Condé desires the continuation of the war, to increase the authority and power of M. d'Enghien, and to annihilate that of the illegitimate family of Vendôme. The wife of Condé has a close, and secret understanding with Mazarin."† Anne also condescended to express to the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, and to M. de la Châtre, captain of the Swiss body guard, her desire that they should make overtures of reconciliation to M. le Cardinal, whom, "she esteemed, and appreciated." The Queen, moreover, sharply informed Madame de Chevreuse that her disrespectful comments must cease, if she desired the continuation of her favour at the Louvre; that she (the Queen) was weary of the perpetual objurgations and insolent menaces to which she had been subjected; and that if Madame de Chevreuse could not conform to the existing state of affairs, she had better retire to Dampierre, without more formal leave.‡ Anne, after saying these words, retired to her private chamber, making a sign to the page in waiting to close the door, and thus to exclude all possibility of reply from the Duchess. "From this period," writes la Châtre, "her Majesty's conversations with M. de Mazarin consumed the whole evening; so that poor M. de Beauvais, our prime minister, who used to speak with her also at that hour, waited in

* Mém. de Montglat, 1643.

† Archives de Simancas, A. 32, quoted by M. Capefigue—Richelieu, Mazarin, et la Fronde.

‡ Mém. de la Châtre, p. 244, ann. 1643.

another apartment, and was only admitted to say Benedicite, when her Majesty sat down to supper, and then to speak an instant to her afterwards."

The despair and rage of Madame de Chevreuse and her allies was unsurpassed. Every day added to the power, and to the stability of the obnoxious Mazarin. Monsieur was completely under the influence of his young chamberlain, the Abbé de la Rivière; who appeared inclined to suffer his master to remain neutral, or at any rate to keep on friendly terms with the Queen—which being a prudent decision, was approved by the Duchess of Orleans.* Finding it impossible to effect the exile of Mazarin, these personages resolved to remove him by assassination. The black crime was first discussed between the Duchesses de Chevreuse, and de Montbazon; and by Madame de Chevreuse it was suggested to M. de Beaufort. In the service of M. de Beaufort were the two brothers, Alexandre and Henri de Campion. Alexandre was devoted to Madame de Chevreuse, and ready to risk his life to purchase her favour. He was a man of bold, reckless bearing, expert in the use of pistol or dagger, and restrained by no principle of honour. A few days after the exile of Madame de Montbazon, Alexandre de Campion wrote to assure her, of his devotion to her interests. "Despair not, Madame," writes he, "there are at least half a dozen stout hearts which have no craven fears. Your illustrious friend (Madame de Chevreuse) does not intend to abandon you."† Henri de Campion,

* Marguerite de Lorraine, whose marriage with Monsieur was recognised by Louis XIII. only on his death-bed. Madame consequently arrived in France May 27, 1643.

† Vie de Madame de Chevreuse—Cousin.

the brother of this champion of the Duchess, was, like him, devoted to the house of Vendôme—a brave cavalier and honourable, he served his patrons with zeal; and yet declined to become an accomplice in many of their criminal designs. To Henri de Campion we owe the full detail of the conspiracy aimed at the life of Mazarin, and at the power of Anne of Austria. These memoirs, published during the present century only;* and written, when the author was about to terminate a life imbittered, and ruined by his unwilling participation in this wretched conspiracy of Beaufort and his colleagues, bear the impress of truth.

Henri de Campion declares positively, that the plot originated with the Duchesses de Chevreuse, and de Montbazon, who induced Beaufort to adopt their machinations, "they being possessed of infinite power over his mind, and having vowed eternal hate to M. le Cardinal."† Their plan was to assassinate Mazarin in his coach in the streets of Paris; or to strike the blow when, at midnight, he quitted the Louvre for his own humble abode, the Hôtel de Clêves. Seduced by the representations of Madame de Chevreuse, and encouraged by the rancour against the minister displayed by the various great personages who frequented the secret conclaves of the Hôtel Chevreuse, Beaufort confided the plot to his bosom friend, M. de Beaupuis, son of the Count de Maillé, who entered into its details with alacrity. Alexandre de Campion was next taken into the confidence of the Duchess—"for she loved him much," relates Henri

* In 1807 by Treuttel and Würtz, Paris et Strasbourg.

† Mém. de Henri de Campion, p. 230.

de Campion. It appears that the design was so far matured and resolved upon, when the exile of Madame de Montbazon determined the conspirators to hasten their measures. The project was next broached with every precaution by Beaufort to Henri de Campion, to Liê, captain of the guard to the Duc de Vendôme, and, lastly, to Brillet, a favourite equerry of M. de Beaufort. "M. de Beaufort said to me," records Henri de Campion in his reluctant avowals, "that I must have remarked that M. de Mazarin was re-establishing at court, and throughout the country, the tyranny of M. de Richelieu, with even greater show of authority and violence; and that having won the confidence of the Queen, and the obedience of her ministers, it was impossible to arrest his projects without taking his life. He therefore prayed me earnestly to aid him in so meritorious an undertaking." M. de Beaupuis, who was present, added, "that it was the duty of every true patriot to rescue France from a repetition of the woes which she had suffered under Richelieu."* Henri de Campion asserts that he vainly tried to subvert the plot, and combat the duke's arguments; but that his entreaties so far wrought on Beaufort, that he promised to advise again with his friends.

The same evening the Duke went to the Louvre to salute the Queen, who was evidently very ill pleased at the aspect of affairs. Anne, on that evening, publicly reprimanded M. de la Châtre, captain of the Cent Suisses, for his partisanship with the hostile faction, by asking

* Mém. de Henri de Campion, p. 232.

him "whether he was aware that it was the duty of the officers of his Majesty's household to remain neutral in the squabbles of the courtiers, until she was pleased to command them which side to support?" La Châtre replied, humbly enough, "that his private friendships never would interfere with his devotion to her Majesty's commands." "You ought to be aware, Monsieur, that by rendering yourself an object of distrust to any faction, you put it out of your power to obey my commands,"* retorted the Queen, sharply. Anne then addressed the Duc de Beaufort, and it is supposed said something to him reprovingly, relative to the conclave of princes, fourteen in number, which met at the Hôtel Chevreuse, on the night following the departure of Madame de Montbazon for Rochefort. The Duke shrugged his shoulders, looked at the Queen, and laughed insolently in her face.† Anne turned to Madame de Condé, and to the Princesse Anne de Gonzague, who were sitting close to her chair, and fiercely whispered, "M. le Duc plays the proud man much to his satisfaction—I will, however, soon show him that I consider him to be only a varlet, and an insolent knave!"

Beaufort returned home still more irritated after this visit to the Louvre; and summoning Beaupuis, the two Campions, Lié, and Brillet, informed them that "he was resolved, and confirmed in his enterprise;" and commanded his friends to "harass him by no further

* Mém. de La Châtre, p. 233 ann. 1643.

† Ibid. "Quand la reine même parlait à M. de Beaufort, il s'en eloignoit d'une manière si dedaigneuse que cela seul etait capable de detruire toute l'amitié, qu'elle eut pu avoir pour lui."—Page 237.

remonstrances." Henri de Campion, meantime, had been subjected to the syren blandishments of Madame de Chevreuse; and to the more plausible, and interested exhortations of his brother Alexandre. He therefore promised his co-operation in the intended conspiracy on the following conditions, as he himself relates,—"that he should not be required to lift a finger personally against the Cardinal; nor to be present when the assassins perpetrated the crime, unless the Duke himself was there; when all that should be expected from him (de Campion) was, to defend the person of his master."* M. de Beaufort condescending to respect these scruples, Henri de Campion promised to promote the plot indirectly, in every possible way. It was then decided to arm six of the most stalwart retainers of Vendôme, and send them to carouse daily in the taverns, in the vicinity of the Cardinal's residence—ready, in fact, at any moment to answer the summons of their chiefs. These men were not to be intrusted with the secret; but were to be told, that the threats of the Prince de Condé, and the Duc de Longueville, menacing some public outrage on the equipages, or the persons of the Duc de Vendôme and his son, the said duke had given orders to M. de Beaufort to hold a guard in readiness for the defence of their lives, and property. It was further resolved to impart the secret to two poor Picard gentlemen, adventurers, in the capital, named D'Avancourt and de Brassy—men of fierce resolution,

* Mém. de Henri de Campion, p. 235: "Je leur dis qu'ils auraient le Pape et la Reine pour ennemis irréconciliables—l'un pour l'interêt de l'Eglise; l'autre pour le maintien de l'autorité royale."—Page 235.

and accomplished swordsmen. Finally, it was agreed when the attack commenced, that the captain of the Duke's guard Ganseville, and Brillet, should seize the horses of the equipage; while Brassy and Avancourt, opening the door of the coach, stabbed the Cardinal to the heart. Beaupuis, M. de Beaufort, and Henri de Campion together, agreed to witness and take the responsibility of the deed; while Alexandre de Campion remained to defend the person of Madame de Chevreuse, in case any prompt retaliation might be meditated for the crime. The deed accomplished, it was believed, that the Ducs de Guise, de la Rochefoucault, de Bouillon, d'Epernon, MM. de Chendenier, de la Châtre, Tréville, and M. de Retz archbishop of Paris, MM. de Fontrailles, Montrésor, and numerous other great personages, would proclaim the elevation to supreme power of the Duc de Beaufort, and the ex-chancellor de Châteauneuf. As for the Queen, Madame de Chevreuse undertook to secure her passive submission. "The Queen," exclaimed she, "is susceptible only under two base passions—those of fear, and interest!"

The conspiracy, meantime, had been cautiously concealed: but seven persons had been intrusted with the secret—Beaupuis, the two Campions, Lié, Brillet, and eventually, the two Picard adventurers—yet Mazarin, by means of his spies, followed the progress of the plot; and erred only in his estimate of the number of persons to whom the design had been told. Day by day he enters some little fact in his celebrated journal; and as the reality of Beaufort's plot was doubted in the duke's day, and for several succeeding generations, Mazarin's asser-

tions were considered to be the offspring of his own excited fears, until the full revelation of facts made by Henri de Campion, proves the fidelity of the secret information which he received. "Madame de Chevreuse," writes he, "confers frequently with the brothers de Campion: every day strangers arrive in Paris. Some plot is being concocted: it is rumoured that I am to be seized, and strangled in the Faubourg St. Germain! M. de Bellegarde told me, that when I returned from Maisons, had I not been in the coach of his royal highness, Monsieur Beaufort would have killed me! Many great personages are furious against me, so that it appears impossible that I can escape. Several persons have made offers to the Duc de Guise to slay me. My greatest enemies are Vendôme, and la Dame de Chevreuse. They say that if they do not quickly slay me, their affairs will fail; that the great lords will be subordinate as ever, and my influence, all powerful with the Queen; and that it is necessary that I should be removed before the return to court of M. d'Enghien. The persons in this court most capable of intrigues and deceit, are la Chevreuse, Vendôme, and Elbœuf! La Chevreuse is fomenting a thousand cabals: she says, that her Majesty continues to give her numberless protestations of friendship. If I could believe that her Majesty employs me from necessity, and not from choice and esteem, I would not remain here a day!* I receive daily many warnings. It has been proposed to the Duc de Guise to kill me; but I hear he refused to entertain the project. La Chevreuse will

* III^ème^ Carnet, August, 1643.

be the ruin of this court, and of me!" * A few days later the Cardinal writes:—"I have been informed that Chevreuse is not on good terms with her Majesty." This observation attests that the Cardinal at this period was not installed in all his future privileges over the mind, and conduct of Anne of Austria; as in a note of so private a nature, he expresses merely the rumour of the court that the duchess was in disgrace. "Again I hear that la Dama (Madame de Chevreuse) exhorts all her friends to patience; assuring them that she does not despair of the return of Châteauneuf; and asks only three months to achieve this. This she said to Vendôme, and entreated him to have patience. These people abuse the Queen more than ever. They are also exasperated against Beringhen, and Montague; they call the first by a filthy name (*alcahuéte*); and vow to give the other a taste of the cudgels. Above all, they say it is necessary to slay, and ruin all who belong to me." †

Mazarin, notwithstanding the number, and rancour of his enemies, remained composed and dignified. "If I die, Madame, it will be for my devotion to you, and to France. Your Majesty by a single act—by giving me some signal instance of *bienveillance*—might extinguish the malice of my foes!" Anne, however, yet hesitated

* IIIème. Carnet. Si yo creyera lo que dicen que S. M. se sierve de me por necesidad, sin tener alguna inclinacion no pararia aqui trés dias."

† "Per metter mi contro il popolo, vanno insinuando che io propongo di levare un quartiere delle rendite di Parigi, e sostengono che M. de Bové vi si opponeva firmamente, dicendo che era il sangue dei poveri; e che io dicessi che non importava. Insieme che la Regina era forestiera, e che io non introducevo altri nella confidenza che Montegu, medesimamente straniero."—*Carnet*, 3.

to place herself unreservedly in the hands of Mazarin; and to empower him to adopt the measures, which alone could give security to her person, and government. The people of Paris watched curiously the contest in the Queen's mind. The Parliament gave no sign of approval or disapproval of the wrangle for power amongst the courtiers; perhaps, the members of the High Court were circumspect, in the face of the great war waging in Germany and elsewhere, in which the glorious arms of Enghien supported the cause of France. Moreover, the High Court approved of the foreign policy of the minister, and desired the conclusion of a general peace throughout Europe, rather than the concoction of a family compact with Spain; the benefits of which, if any, would be absorbed by Anne and her courtiers, to the exclusion of the French people.

The Duc de Beaufort, meantime, continued on the alert. Ganseville and his men haunted the streets, and the little inns in the neighbourhood of the Cardinal's residence.* The Duke himself, with Beaupuis, was often seen in the streets at the head of a disorderly band; while Henri de Campion took up his lodgings at the hostelry of the Two Angels, which was situated on the quay close to the Louvre, from whence he was able to observe the movements of the Cardinal, and report to Ganseville when he left his hôtel. Many occasions occurred which excited the murderous aspirations of Mazarin's enemies. Once the tender conscience of Henri de Campion saved him. Campion was in the

* L'Hôtel de Clèves, Rue du Louvre.

narrow Rue de Champ-Fleuri, one end of which debouched into the Rue St. Honoré, the other opened close to the Louvre, when he saw the Cardinal enter his coach, attended only by the Abbato de Bentivoglio. Riding up to the *cortège*, Campion asked one of the footmen, where his master was going? "To visit M. le Maréchal d'Estrées," was the reply. "I perceived that if I gave notice of the destination of M. le Cardinal that his death was inevitable. I believed, however, that God and man would hold me to be for ever guilty of murder, if I betrayed the fact of his destination, and slender escort. I felt, therefore, no temptation to do so." * The following day, the Duc de Beaufort himself met Mazarin, accompanied by M. d'Harcourt, *en route* for La Barre, the country-house of Madame de Vigean. † The Duke instantly ordered Campion and his assassins to join him in pursuit, so that the deed might be accomplished on a lonely highway, near to the village of Montmorency. Again Campion came to the rescue of the Cardinal, by pointing out that the assailants of Mazarin must also kill M. d'Harcourt; who, as a valiant and true friend, could not sit by whilst they slew M. de Mazarin. He had likewise discovered that Queen Anne had passed that way an hour previously, attended by a strong escort, which

* Mém. de Henri de Campion, p. 240.

† Anne de Neubourg, wife of François Poussart de Fors Baron de Vigean. The attachment subsisting between the young Duc d'Enghien and the youngest daughter of Madame de Vigean, Marthe Poussart de Vigean, rendered her society much sought after; as it was then surmised that Enghien would divorce his wife, the niece of Richelieu, to espouse Mademoiselle de Vigean.

would diminish the probability of finding the road so secluded as usual. "We ascertained, a few days afterwards," relates de Campion, "that the Cardinal was again going to Maisons to see the Maréchal d'Estrées, as well as M. d'Orleâns. I again represented to M. de Beaufort that if the Cardinal accompanied his royal highness, the design must not be executed. He replied, 'If the Cardinal goes alone, he must die!' Early in the morning, M. de Beaufort made preparation of horses and horsemen, and went with Beaupuis to the Capuchin convent, posting a footman in the street to bring him word when the Cardinal passed. He ordered me to assemble our people at the Two Angels, and that if the Cardinal went unaccompanied by the Duc d'Orleans, I was to join him with my troop, and we were all to set out in pursuit. My distress and anxiety were not to be imagined; at length the coach of his royal highness passed, when, to my intense relief, I perceived M. le Cardinal sitting within. I immediately waited upon our duke, and observed that God did not favour his project, as so many obstacles perpetually intervened. M. de Beaufort thereupon, began to muse, and dismissed me with the assurance, that he would take further counsel with his friends." The Duke and Madame de Chevreuse, however, were too much in earnest to abandon a project which promised the destruction of the hated, and envied Mazarin. The Duchess was incensed by the cold, and dry manner of the Queen, who had declined her attendance in the excursion to La Barre; and by an order promulgated by Anne for the better ordering of her court, in

which her ladies were desired in their communications, to abstain from all mention of politics; and were not to sit in the presence, unless specially invited to do so. Delay was dangerous; how much so, the wary plotters never knew; for it seems evident from Les Carnets de Mazarin, that the latter was instantly informed of the design entertained to slay him on his journey to Maisons;* and that he communicated the fact to the Queen, as the sequel will show. It was therefore concerted by Beaufort and the Duchess, that an attempt should be made to shoot the Cardinal from a window as he quitted the Louvre on the following night, according to his custom about midnight, attended only by a favourite page.

M. de Vendôme meantime, who had more malice than courage, alarmed at his son's intrigues, of which he possessed but a superficial knowledge, had earnestly entreated Beaufort to make some friendly overtures to Mazarin; without whose aid he despaired of recovering his forfeited government of Bretagne. Finding M. de Beaufort obdurate, it occurred to the Duke that the friendship of Monsieur was necessary to protect him. He therefore commenced fulsome overtures to propitiate La Rivière, Monsieur's favourite; promising him the friendship of his sons, and especially of M. de Beaufort. La Rivière appeared not unwilling to conclude a friendly compact, but requested an interview with M. de Beaufort. To this the Duc de Vendôme agreed; and

* "Dicen me, que la Dama (Cheverosa) dava instructiones a là de Vandoma, por que les maquinas que se hizieren contra me, sean bien conducidas."—Carnet 3ème. "La casa de Vandoma travaglia per ogni verso per mettersi bene con Monsieur."—Ibid.

appointed a day for the interview at the country house of the Maréchal d'Estrées. La Rivière and the Duke were punctual to the appointment, but M. de Beaufort did not appear. The self-appreciation of the favourite being wounded,* the Duc de Vendôme sought to soothe his irritation by discourses on the political marvels which Beaufort would yet effect; and in his earnest chatterings unwittingly let out, that his party "intended to compass the death of Mazarin rather than to recede in its designs." La Rivière took civil leave of the Duke, and posted to Paris; where he sought audience of his master, and adjured Monsieur, on his allegiance, to protect the minister from assassination. Condé was called to the conference, and the affair terminated by the Duc d'Orleans, Condé, and La Rivière, entering into a compact to oppose the designs of M. de Beaufort.

Upon the day fixed for the execution of the plot, concocted by M. de Beaufort, the Queen went to Vincennes, where M. de Chavigny gave a superb fête to the court. Mazarin was also present, and was observed to converse pleasantly with M. de Beaufort. The Queen was evidently out of spirits, and absent. Afterwards Anne confessed to Madame de Motteville, that the sight of M. de Beaufort's hilarity made her sad. "Alas!" said she, "I thought, that, poor man, in less than three days he might be a prisoner there (at Vincennes), when his laughter would not be so joyous!" Beaufort quitted Vincennes early; and returned to Paris to perfect his arrangements for the contemplated assas-

* "La Rivière se tint pour fourbé."—M. de la Châtre, ann. 1643.

sination. The Duke had been obliged to confide partially in Des Essarts, a captain of the guard, whose soldiers on that night were to mount guard in front of the Louvre, and along the quay. Des Essarts, who was a bitter enemy of Mazarin, promised, without inquiring further, that whatever tumults might arise in the streets, his soldiers should perform only their duty of guarding the gates of the Louvre. The consternation therefore of the wily plotters may be imagined, when it was ascertained that the soldiers under Des Essarts were superseded against all precedent, by mandate from the secretary of state, by the *compagnie Colonelle*, or first company of guards, of which the Duc d'Epêrnon was chief. Epêrnon was a malcontent; Madame de Chevreuse was bold, and confident in the power of her eloquence. She therefore paid him a private visit, and significantly requested that he would at nightfall give command to the serjeant of the troop, to refrain from interfering in any tumult which might arise in the vicinity of the palace.* Epêrnon asked no questions, and promised compliance; but it is positively asserted by Campion and others, that he instantly sent Le Tellier to the Hôtel de Clèves to communicate his suspicions. Mazarin was startled to find M. de Beaufort in his audience chamber on the termination of this conference; the Duke approached, and after some comment on the festivity which both had partaken of that day, he

* "Lisièu (l'evéque de Lisieux) haveva detto, che M^aa^ de Cheverosa macchinarebbe per altre strade la mia perditâ, che poteva disporse assolutamente della Châtra et di Epernon, et qual non mi amava punto, e era traditore." The Duke may have had some warnings of the Cardinal's suspicions, which made him resolve to secure his own safety at any price.

carelessly asked his Eminence, at what hour he usually returned home from the Louvre? Mazarin made no reply, and Beaufort soon after left. At midnight the bands were duly placed, Avancourt, and Brassy being ready with pistol, or dagger to consummate the intended crime. "When we were all assembled at the tavern on the quay, close to the Louvre, and waiting in suspense for the *sortie* of the Cardinal, we remarked that many strange persons were assembled, who appeared to do nothing but watch our movements," relates Campion. It was in vain, however, that Beaufort's bravoes laid in wait for their victim—Mazarin never stirred from home; the gates of the Louvre were presently closed, and the Place became silent and deserted.

The reflections of M. de Mazarin during that eventful night of September 1, 1643, were cogent, and profound. He loved power; and to become the ruler of mighty France, was a future, grand enough to tempt the most reckless ambition. Mazarin, however, knew the conditions upon which a foreign ecclesiastic could only hold in check the turbulent spirit of the French people, and noblesse—this talisman was the boon of absolute power, conferred as a free gift by an absolute sovereign. Without this safeguard, Mazarin was wise enough to determine not to jeopardise his life in a useless struggle. "If I believed," Mazarin had written, "that her Majesty employs me from necessity, and not from choice and esteem, I would not remain here a day!" He had now shown the Queen the extent of his capacity, and the versatility of his genius in affairs of state. Anne should therefore choose between him,

and the faction which had rendered her much coveted Regency, an era of humiliation, and danger. "I cannot serve the Queen amid these perpetual surprises, although I labour night and day. Let her Majesty choose between me and Beauvais, Châteauneuf and Beaufort." *

By dawn on the following morning, rumours of the intended assassination spread over the capital, creating extraordinary excitement. The adherents of Vendôme prudently remained within their houses: the duke had been for some days at the Château d'Anet; while in reply to numberless inquiries, it was announced that M. de Beaufort had likewise departed at dawn from the capital to hunt at Anet. Mazarin proceeded at an early hour to the Louvre on foot, but surrounded by a retinue of gentlemen, and retainers. The palace was besieged by personages tantalised by vague reports, and who trusted there to solve their doubts. Affable and gentle in his address, Mazarin, without revealing the circumstances of the conspiracy, confirmed the rumour that a formidable plot had been disclosed. The Queen had wept the greater portion of the night, after giving audience to the secretary of state, Le Tellier, in her oratory. When her privileged de Motteville ventured to ask her Majesty the cause of the unusual tumult in the Louvre at that hour, Anne replied, while angry tears shone in her eyes—"You will see, Madame, before twenty-four hours have

* "Yo no tengo de que dudar despues de havermé S. M. con eccesso de bondad persistiendo que nadie podria deribarme del puesto que se ha servido darme en su gratia; mas contodo, este siendo el temor un compagnero inseperable del' affection."—Carnet 3ème.

expired, how I will avenge myself for the enterprises of friends so wicked, and perfidious!" "Never," says Madame de Motteville, "will the effect produced by these few words be effaced from my mind! The angry light which burned in the Queen's eyes, and the events which happened on the following day, and also on that very same evening, taught me the power which resides in a sovereign when exasperated; and when that sovereign is potent enough to follow her own will." A council was instantly convened; it consisted of Mazarin, Condé, the Duc d'Orleans, M. de Beauvais, Le Tellier, Guénégaud, and others, Anne presiding. The Cardinal made a humble and pathetic speech, recounting all the circumstances known, concerning the intended ambuscade. "Madame, it is true that I am always ready and anxious to sacrifice my life for the welfare of your Majesty, for that of the King, and of his kingdom; nevertheless, I have resolved not to risk my life without necessity, and ingloriously, to the ambushes, conspiracies, and craft of my enemies, who are also those of the realm. Permit me, therefore, to retire to Rome. I shall seek there repose, safety, and tranquillity, and perform with zeal, the various offices for this crown and realm, which the singular benefits conferred upon me by the late King Louis le Juste, for ever imposed upon my conscience."* The effect of this speech was that which the Cardinal anticipated. Tears fell from the Queen's eyes when she thought of the meditated departure of her able minister—of her only true friend, as she then declared,

* Aubèry: l'Histoire du Cardinal de Mazarin, liv. ii. p. 203.

and of her own defenceless condition, amid a crowd of fierce aspirants for office. The Prince de Condé rose, and in a few words counselled her Majesty to refuse the resignation tendered by Mazarin; in which opinion he was seconded by Monsieur. It was therefore determined to adopt severe measures for the signal confusion, and dispersion of the malcontents—the chief measure of which was the immediate arrest of M. de Beaufort, and the exile of his adherents. Little more was decided at this hurried council; the necessity of putting an end to the present turbulent condition of affairs was impressed on the mind of all, more especially on that of the Queen herself. In comparison to his colleagues, Mazarin was a giant in intellect; the lucidity of his views, and his penetration were admirable. Above all, foreign affairs prospered in his hand. Anne therefore had little trouble in coming to the determination, by a decisive *coup d'état*, to rescue her minister from the malice of faction. With great parade of disinterestedness Mazarin, nevertheless, departed from the Louvre—when the Queen rose from the council table, and dismissed her ministers—without seeking his usual private audience. He knew that his future support in the realm must be the personal friendship of Anne of Austria; to that he resolved to trust. If the Queen failed in her determination to rid him of his opponents, he had finally resolved to retire from the realm.

Anne, on leaving the council chamber, retired to her oratory to meditate, and doubtless to mature her resolves. She afterwards dined alone in her small chamber, and admitted to her presence the Duchesses

de Vendôme,* de Guise,† and Nemours. ‡ Anne received them with her usual grace; but avoided giving a reply to their suppositions, and questions respecting the rumours current. They remarked, however, that the Queen seemed pre-occupied and somewhat irritable, when conversation, touching upon the events of the preceding night, was pressed upon her. Madame la Princesse presently entered, when Anne retired with her. Meantime, Madame de Chevreuse arrived, nothing daunted by the uncertain aspect of affairs; and laughing to scorn the idle and imbecile rumours, which she declared had set "all Paris by the ears." The maternal fears of Madame de Vendôme, however, took alarm. The silence of the Queen on the *canard* which had affrighted her "timid Parisians," appeared ominous; and before the hour struck when the circle assembled, the three Duchesses retired. On the steps leading from the Louvre, they met the Duc de Beaufort, who, having returned from his hunting expedition, was on his way to salute the Queen. Madame de Nemours grasped him by the hand, and besought him not to venture into her Majesty's presence. Madame de Vendôme his mother, with tears in her eyes, conjured him to depart for Anet, assuring him that the Queen's manner had given her great suspicion, and uneasiness. Beaufort replied carelessly, in the very words of the Duc de Guise, when warned at Blois to avoid a similar peril: "*On n'osera!*" At the door of the guard-chamber

* Françoise de Lorraine, heiress of Mercœur.

† Henriette de Joyeuse Duchesse de Montpensier (dowager) and de Guise.

‡ Elizabeth de Vendôme, sister of the Ducs de Mercœur and de Beaufort.

Beaufort was accosted by l'Argentier, the Queen's private secretary. "Mon Maître," exclaimed he, significantly, addressing the Duke, "I hear of a troop of well-mounted cavaliers, carrying pistols in the vicinity of the palace. There must be some enterprise in contemplation!" The infatuated prince peevishly replied, "Well? What then, would you have me do?" and passed on to the presence-chamber.* Nothing he saw there alarmed the Duke, who probably thought that putting a bold front on the matter was his best mode of allaying suspicion. The Queen smiled, and graciously condescended to inquire the result of the day's sport. Beaufort, in his animated and frank manner, was satisfying her curiosity, when the Cardinal arrived, at his accustomed hour. "The Queen," says Madame de Motteville, "received the Duke most graciously, and asked him questions relative to his hunting expedition, as if she had no other thought on her mind. She had learned how to dissimulate from the late King her husband, who had been a great adept in this ugly, but oft-times necessary faculty." Anne presently retired as usual with Mazarin to an adjoining closet, the doors of which, however, contrary to the usual etiquette, were closed as soon as she had passed through. The Duke, probably very much relieved at the pacific aspect of affairs, addressed a few gallant words to Mesdames de Chevreuse and de Hautefort, and then entered the small ante-room to the presence-chamber, to take his departure from the Louvre. At the door he was confronted by

* Carnets de M. de Mazarin, Bibl. Imp.—Carnet 3ème.

Guitaut, captain of the body-guard, who arrested him in the King's name. M. de Beaufort stood for an interval speechless, stricken with amazement:—"in truth he never believed, that after the faithful services which he had rendered to the Queen in the days of her adversity, that she could ever resolve to arrest him." Guitaut, taking the Duke's sword, which he passively yielded, ordered him to follow. "Yes, yes! I obey; but the fact is amazing enough!" murmured Beaufort. Then, turning to the Duchesse de Chevreuse, and to Madame de Hautefort, he said, "You perceive, Mesdames, that the Queen arrests me!" *

The Duke was conveyed to the guard-chamber of the Louvre, and passed the night in a little vaulted room opening therefrom. He supped well, and asked for pen, ink and paper, in order, as he said, to advertise Madame de Montbazon of his misfortune. The following day early, he was conducted to Vincennes, in one of the Queen's coaches, under a strong escort, and delivered to the custody of the governor of the fortress, M. de Chavigny. The Duke was imprisoned in a chamber high up in the donjon tower: he was treated with rigour, though two servants were permitted to attend him—his valet-de-chambre, and a cook. Madame de Vendôme in vain implored more lenient treatment for her son: she was not admitted to the Queen's presence; and her request, which was subsequently preferred through Madame de Motteville, was rejected by Anne, who abruptly ordered the former to mind her own con-

* Mém. de Montglât, de la Châtre, de Brienne, de Motteville, etc.

cerns; adding, "that such a request, made by the friends of a prisoner, it was unusual to grant." As the carriage which conveyed the prisoner traversed the streets of Paris, the populace cheered the guards, and pressed forward to gaze upon their future hero, Le Roi des Halles, exclaiming, "Look at the man! look at him, who wished to disturb public peace!"—a gibe which Mazarin complacently inserts in his journal.* Anne shed many tears while the arrest was being accomplished, and appeared depressed, according to Madame de Motteville; who ever gives her royal mistress credit for right feeling. "The Queen explained, that as she had so much loved the friends of her adversity, it was with extreme sorrow and reluctance that she had resolved to exile them." La Châtre, however, states that on the rumour of the great event which had happened, he repaired to the Louvre to ascertain the truth of the reported arrest of M. de Beaufort, to whom he was much attached. As captain of the Swiss, he was permitted to enter the guard-chamber; where he found Mazarin standing, surrounded by three hundred gentlemen of the King's guard, preparing to quit the Louvre for his own abode. "The Cardinal saluted me with tolerable civility, but not one of his suite took notice of me, excepting three gentlemen." A message presently came from the Queen, desiring the presence of M. de la Châtre. Anne received him coldly; and directed him to lead two companies of Swiss before the Louvre by six o'clock the following morning. This

* "Tutto il popolo gode e diceva: eccolà quello, que voleva turbar il nostro riposo! Campione era fuggito sobre un cavallo, della casa de Vandoma: che fu spedite subito a M^ma. di Montbazon."

order, when known, caused much suspense, as some further enterprise was evidently resolved.

After the arrest of her old friend, Anne was able, that same evening, to grant audience to Madame de Chevreuse. The Duchess, fearing for her own liberty, approached the Queen, and falling on her knees, declared her innocence of the foul design to molest, or slay M. le Cardinal; in token of which she offered to submit to her Majesty's pleasure; only she implored that the award might not be her exile from Paris. Anne shortly replied, that she believed her to be innocent of the murderous designs of M. de Beaufort; nevertheless, for many reasons she wished the Duchess to retire to Dampierre; and from thence to proceed to her château in Tourraine, there to await further commands. "I pray you, moreover, Madame, for the future not to concern yourself about state affairs, but permit me to govern this realm at my pleasure. I advise you now to enjoy your honours and riches in tranquillity; and under my regency attain, Madame, that peace which was not yours during the reign of the late King, my lord. Moreover, Madame, allow me to suggest that it is time you should seek retirement, and rule your life and conduct, according to holy precepts which can alone assure your everlasting felicity."* Hard and imperious as these words sounded from the lips of her old friend, Madame de Chevreuse had sufficient self-command not to reply; but left her royal mistress to take necessary repose after so agitating an evening.

* Mém. de la Châtre: "Madame de Chevreuse dans ses plaintes meloit

The following day further arrests were made. The Counts de Montrésor and de Béthune were committed to the Bastille, upon suspicion of being concerned in the intended assassination. The Duc and Duchesse de Vendôme, with their son M. de Mercœur, were exiled to Anet. The Duke, on the tidings of the arrest of M. de Beaufort, travelled post from Anet to throw himself at her Majesty's feet. Anne refused the audience; when agitation and terror so prostrated M. de Vendôme, that he was carried to his bed in a condition of partial insensibility. No intercession sufficed, however, to persuade the Queen to permit him to remain in Paris until convalescent. The Duc de Guise, also, received orders to retire from Paris. M. de la Châtre was commanded to resign his charge of Captain-General of the Swiss. Having formerly enjoyed much favour, la Châtre attempted to mollify the resentment of the Queen * for his late *liaison* with the Vendôme faction, by all manner of conciliatory overtures to herself, and to Mazarin.† The latter, however, in his hour of triumph, had suffered too much from the defeated faction to spare one of its principal members. La Châtre, therefore, after a few days of suspense, resigned his charge, which was given again to M. de Bassompierre. The same afternoon great sensation was induced in the capital, by the sudden arrival of M. de Châteauneuf at

toujours quelque chose de piquant, et de moqueur contre les defauts personnels du Cardinal."

* Through M. de Brienne. "La reine a dit, qu'elle me croyait trop homme d'honneur pour avoir trempé dans la conjuration qu'on imputait a M. de Beaufort; mais qu'il y avoit eu de l'imprudence dans ma conduite."

† La Châtra—pensar a lui!—Carnet. 3ème.

the Louvre, who was admitted at once to the Queen's presence. The fate of the ex-chancellor had been the grand point of difference between Mazarin, and Les Importants. Had Madame de Chevreuse and her colleagues, sacrificed Châteauneuf to the distrust, and resentment of Mazarin, a coalition probably, might have been brought about between the party of the old *régime*, and Richelieu's friends, and successors. In vain Châteauneuf himself had exhorted his ally, the Duchess, to moderation: in vain he had argued, and represented to her—"The Queen cannot place M. de Vendôme in power. Two men alone hold the key of the secrets of the state: and while a foreign war lasts, the Queen must ask their services, or ruin the realm. These personages are Mazarin, and Chavigny." Unconvinced, Madame de Chevreuse had pressed on the negotiations for a special, and distinct peace with Spain: she had demanded, and obtained the dismissal of Chavigny;* and in defiance of the opposition of Condé, and Monsieur, insisted that the seals should be restored to Châteauneuf. A cabinet messenger, on the morning of the 3rd of September, conveyed to Montrouge the astounding tidings of the overthrow of the faction, by the arrest of its chief, M. de Beaufort. A missive also, summoned Châteauneuf to the Louvre, to see the Queen; and to receive assurances of her good will, before he departed to assume office as governor of Tourraine—

* M. de Chavigny had been the first patron of Mazarin, and had introduced him to Richelieu, as a man likely to be serviceable in the cabinet. He never forgave Mazarin his desertion.

a step which the Queen required. Too happy to escape the consequences of the rashness of the Vendôme party, Châteauneuf complied. Anne received her old friend with some emotion; and made earnest enquiry respecting the infirmities he had contracted during his long imprisonment at Angoulême. She expressed her regret that her former friends caballed, "against the government which the state of affairs compels me to adopt," and so had wrought their own political ruin. Mazarin, who was present at the interview, demeaned himself graciously. Châteauneuf dexterously contrived to imply acquiescence, and even approval, of Anne's conduct; and to evince his desire to conform in all matters to her wishes, he quitted Paris, without seeing Madame de Chevreuse, and started for Tours.*

Mazarin, meantime, now assumed the reserve, and patronising airs of the great minister. M. de Beauvais, therefore, without waiting for his formal dismissal from office, and perhaps hoping to tide over the crisis, asked permission to visit his diocese to hold a provincial synod. This request was at once granted. The same day, however, came a privy council mandate commanding every bishop resident in Paris to retire to his diocese. As no exception was made in favour of Queen Anne's president of the council, the edict virtually deposed the Bishop of Beauvais from his political dignities. The Queen's resolve had long been taken to dismiss a minister "whose

Permissione a Chatonof di veder la regina; et ordine di andar in Turena. —III. Carnet. Journal d'Olivier d'Ormesson.

views, and answers, when consulted, afforded her so little aid and satisfaction;" * and who was only called to power, at a crisis, when it was requisite to deposit temporarily with a third personage, that authority, for which two great chieftains of faction were contending. The bishop, nevertheless, highly esteeming his own powers, and being a man of pertinacious temper, was unwilling to accept so summary a dismissal, and to be included amongst the prelates, whose lukewarm zeal for the local affairs of their dioceses had needed so peremptory a rebuke, petitioned the Queen to state the grounds of his rejection from her counsels. Anne, unwilling to wound the feelings of her old friend, who was an excellent man, and efficient prelate, tried to evade his request. M. de Beauvais, however, persisted in his demands, and at length obtained the desired decree, which formally removed "the Bishop of Beauvais from the council-board as minister of state, *pour cause d'incompétence.*" The Queen had been incensed, moreover, by an incautious admission dropped by Beauvais, on the day following the arrest of M. de Beaufort. Meeting the Prince de Condé, Beauvais remarked, with little diplomatic *aplomb*, "that, on reflection, he could not help feeling surprise that M. le Prince had consented to the arrest of M. de Beaufort." Condé sarcastically replied, "And you, monsieur—you, her

* "La reine," says Montglât, "n'avait aucune expérience quand tout le faix des affaires lui tomba sur les bras, et qu'elle voulait s'en decharger, sur l'évêque de Beauvais. La reine avait de l'esprit, et elle reconnut bientot qu'il n'etait pas capable, car elle voyait qu'il ne savoit que repondre à toutes les depêches qui lui venaient de tous côtés—tellement, qu'elle se trouvait contrainte d'en demander l'avis au Mazarin, qui lui resolvait les affaires aussitôt."

Majesty's minister, as you do not seem yourself to approve of this measure, I feel also surprise that you did not prevent this said event!" "I should so have done, and should have warned M. de Beaufort, if I had believed, or known for certain, that the measure would have been accomplished," responded M. de Beauvais. Condé laughed, and told the story of Beauvais's green simplicity to M. de Brancas. The latter repeated it to La Rivière, who imparted it to Monsieur; Monsieur, in his turn, told the Queen, who, in great wrath, at once decided upon the removal of a personage so indiscreet, and talkative.

Among the prelates banished from Paris was the Bishop of Lisieux, who had been one of the most zealous of Anne's adherents. The godly life of Lisieux commanded the veneration of Richelieu, who had permitted him to retain the post of confessor to the Queen. Anne had placed the greatest confidence in his counsels; and treated him with affectionate familiarity, always calling herself "his daughter." Lisieux, however, was an ardent partisan of the old *régime*, and the idol, and lawgiver of the devout *coterie*, which comprehended the abbesses of the Val de Grâce. and the Carmelites, Madame de Hautefort, and others, who deemed the policy of the late reign "damnable;" and the ingratitude of the Queen abominable, in forsaking her old friends, and continuing the war against her Spanish kindred. The exile of Lisieux, therefore, was a gain to Mazarin; as the lectures and remonstrances, to which Anne submitted during her almost daily visits to her favourite convents, excited his solicitude. The Queen's intereession, therefore, was met

by Mazarin with the unanswerable argument, "that her peace of mind required the sacrifice of every one of her presumptuous friends; that the times were too critical to admit of divided counsels; and that her conscience must fully sanction the acts of her ministers." Lisieux, therefore, receiving no intimation of reprieve from his royal mistress, submitted with dignity to the fiat. The bishop was the intimate ally of the princes of Vendôme, and inhabited their palace when in Paris. He appeared once more at the *lever:* Anne, with tears in her eyes, held out her hand affectionately; which the venerable bishop gravely kissed, but spoke no word, even when the Queen earnestly besought him to remember her in his prayers. "I protest that I have seldom felt such sorrow, as in resolving on the exile of M. de Lisieux: I felt as if I was saying farewell to my own father! Many and grave considerations, I assure you, have compelled me to exile him," exclaimed Anne, earnestly, to Madame de Maignelais, his kinswoman.

M. de Limoges was another stirring prelate, who was compelled to transfer his energies to diocesan affairs. The uncle of Mademoiselle de la Fayette, he had largely participated in courtly intrigue during the last reign. A subtle man of the world, who had experienced vicissitudes enough to inspire him, in this case, with a comforting doubt of the stability of present measures, M. de Limoges took leave of his old friends de Hautefort, and Madame de Senécé, with the emphatic counsel, "Suffer now in silence; keep to your appointments, mesdames, and wait for more favourable times!" Some friend, pro-

bably Father Carré, repeated this counsel to Mazarin, who proceeds to comment on the fact, thus:—"Counsel given by Limoges, to Senécé:—to put a good face upon matters, to conciliate all persons, and to wait her time. The same he said to Hautefort. These persons detest the Queen; and so have resolved to suffer, to fawn, and to dissimulate, until an occasion occurs to do me injury."

The Duc de la Rochefoucauld was sent for by Anne during the few days subsequent to the arrest of M. de Beaufort—days, indeed, of trial to the Queen, who, however, performed her part of the compact with Mazarin with that ability and resolve, which have been little appreciated by historians, intent only on the progress of the Cardinal; and absorbed by the idea, that his royal mistress blindly obeyed his dictates. La Rochefoucauld found the Queen pale, sad, determined, and sharp of speech. She opened the conference by a detail of all that she had suffered by the violence and importunity of her former friends, who refused to consider her altered circumstances, and the exigencies of the government, burdened by a great, and costly war. Anne expatiated wrathfully on their ignorance of affairs, their rapacity, and on their design to usurp again the royal prerogatives, so happily restored during the late reign. The truth of the adage, "circumstances form the man," must have vividly forced itself on the mind of M. de la Rochefoucauld, when he heard the princess thus speak, who had once piteously claimed his protection, to rescue her from the

consequences of not having sufficiently appreciated, "the happy restorations," to which she now emphatically alluded. The Queen, coming to the true object of her discourse, then requested the duke to break off intercourse with Madame de Chevreuse; and to reconcile himself sincerely with Mazarin; adding, "that considering her old friendship, and her present dignity and power, she expected that I should not refuse her such a mark of respect, and devotion." La Rochefoucauld, who had the most overweening opinion of himself, and the cause which he patronised, assured her Majesty "then, as ever, he was her devoted friend and servant; that Madame de Chevreuse was likewise, his friend and early patroness; that she had done no evil to their Majesties—which, indeed, would have been an ample reason for his abandonment of her friendship; therefore, he prayed her Majesty to excuse him, if he declined to forsake the said lady, merely because she had been unhappy enough to displease M. le Cardinal."* Anne made no attempt to argue with the duke; she rose, and terminated the audience, having failed, as she conceived, in her effort to secure his political alliance. La Rochefoucauld from that period, though he suffered no open disgrace, fell entirely from the good graces of the Queen. Military command was refused him; "even those very desirable posts which the late Cardinal had offered to give me; but which I had then rejected at the request of the Queen, who was then the enemy of M. de Richelieu!" indignantly records the duke.

* Mém. de la Rochefoucauld, ann. 1643.

Madame de Chevreuse, meantime, lingered on, hoping that the Queen might relent; or that Mazarin might conceive it to be his interest to propitiate again her favour. All manner of underhand devices to sound the feelings of Anne and her minister, were resorted to by the duchess. The Queen's favourite maid of honour, Mademoiselle St. Louis,* was hastily married to the Marquis de Flavicourt, and subsequently banished from court because she had presumed to intercede for Madame de Chevreuse; and to request the Queen to see her again. Finding that Mazarin made no fresh overtures, the duchess employed a mutual friend, the Duc de Liancour to negotiate her reconciliation; and to ask that past quarrels might be forgotten—so intensely did she dread a return of the miserable adversities of exile. The time was now past when the friendship of Madame de Chevreuse might have been deemed precious. The fear existed no longer lest the Queen should succumb to her influences; besides, as Mazarin foresaw, an open rupture with Anne of Austria would irretrievably damage the *prestige* of the duchess in foreign realms. He therefore refused to enter into *pourparler;* but complained that Madame de Chevreuse "should break her engagements, knowing well what she had recently promised to the Queen—to whit, to obey her Majesty in all things." Finding that nothing was to be gained by submission, Madame de Chevreuse insolently retorted, "that she was not the person to break her promises, though the Queen did so, having offered to pay her debts; and to present her,

*. "Far retirare St. Luis," wrote Mazarin at this period.

moreover, with the sum of 200,000 livres, as an indemnification for her losses incurred in serving her Majesty!"* Anne ordered this sum to be paid to the duchess, but the gift was accompanied by a positive order to leave Paris. With despair in her heart, the duchess found herself compelled to obey. She retired to a country house of her own, situated between Tours and Angers, and consoled herself by aiding the accomplices of M. de Beaufort to escape from the kingdom; and actually sheltering Alexandre de Campion under her own roof. Soon she organised a vast correspondence with the enemies of Mazarin, through Lord Goring the English ambassador in Paris, who abhorred the Cardinal, and his policy. The duchess's old friend, Sir Herbert Croft, again volunteered to serve her interests; and to act as her agent in the numerous intrigues, with which she prepared to enliven her solitude.

The accomplices of M. de Beaufort, meantime, were pursued unrelentingly by the emissaries of Mazarin. Many of them found refuge at Anet, with the Duc de Vendôme; and a threat became necessary, to besiege that princely abode and raze it to the ground, to disperse this nest of malcontents. M. de Beaupuis fled to Rome, where he endured a series of persecutions from the reiterated demands of the French government for his surrender. The Cardinal wrote with his own hand to various influential personages—such as the Cardinal de Grimaldi, to his brother-in-law Vincenzo Martinozzi, and to Zongo

* "Mma. di Chevreusa sortita del regno avendo somme considerabile di denare contanti. S. M. sa bene li suoi desegni; e che se li da 200 mil lire come pretende, n'havra havute 400 mil lire."—Mazarin, Carnet III.

Ondedei, afterwards Bishop of Fréjus, in whose zeal he had perfect faith—to induce the Pope to deliver up Beaupuis; who, Mazarin asserted, was convicted of the foul crime by the confession of the two Picard gentlemen, Avancourt, and Brassy, under torture in the Bastille. The powerful protection of Spain, however, saved M. de Beaupuis; who, some years afterwards, contrived to make his peace with Mazarin. Henri de Campion fled to Jersey; and from thence made his way to Italy, where he long lived in penury, conscious that his prospects of military advancement were for ever destroyed. The majority of the other conspirators escaped to foreign lands; being aided by the Duc de Vendôme, who lavished money to facilitate the evasion of men, who might give inconvenient testimony against M. de Beaufort, in case the government decided upon arraigning the latter for high treason.

Two ladies of the household also received severe reprimands during this memorable week—the one, Madame de Senécé, a grand dame amid the grandest of the land; the other, Anne's chief dresser, Madame de Motteville, whom the Queen loved for her Spanish origin, and for her easy, though shrewd temper. It was known that Madame de Senécé, governess to the King, taught her royal pupil to revile and outrage the memory of the deceased Cardinal. One day, when at Chaillot with the young King, Madame de Senécé, pointing to a portrait of Richelieu, exclaimed, "There, look at that dog!" The young King promptly exclaimed, "Bring me my crossbow, that I may shoot him!".* After

* III. Carnet, p. 32. Mazarin.

the dispersion of Les Importants, a hint sufficed to restrain the tongue of Madame de Senécé; and, remembering her uncle's advice, she promised Mazarin to act in conformity with the new order established. Anne avowed reluctance to send her again from court; while Mazarin, who appreciated her covetous and selfish disposition, felt convinced that whoever served her interests, would eventually command her support.*

Madame de Motteville, when she found that her little backstair caballings on behalf of M. de Beaufort were likely to be severely resented, made humble prayer to the Queen for her intercession. Anne promised her protection, and spoke to the Cardinal so firmly on behalf of her "good de Motteville," that Mazarin desisted from his demand for her dismissal. An interview was granted to Madame de Motteville, at her request, by Mazarin, and she succeeded, "if not quite in disarming his suspicions, at any rate I convinced him sufficiently of my future good faith, so that he let me live in peace; though, unhappily, my words produced not so good an effect, as to influence my fortunes."

The Queen's ministers—the government being thus remodelled—were, Mazarin, M. d'Orleans, Condé, Séguier as chancellor, and the secretaries of state, MM. de Brienne, Guenégaud, and Michel le Tellier. "Mazarin *supremum potentiæ locum occupat*"—writes Guy Patin,

* Madame de Senécé, "pretendit qu'on la fit Duchesse, et ses petits enfants princes, a cause du nom de Foix qu'ils portent."—Motteville. Madame de Senécé was La Rochefoucauld by birth, and so *entiché* with her illustrious descent, that whenever she heard that name mentioned in her presence, she trembled for joy, and excitement.

the cynic, who watched with keen relish the contest around him; and whose letters are such an amusing medley of classical erudition, medicine, and politics :— "He has driven the Bishop of Beauvais from the council, and packed him off to his diocese; after having had credit to arrest M. de Beaufort, and send him to Vincennes. A quantity of other people tremble, and wait his orders, to which instant obedience must be paid! The Cardinal and M. le Prince (Condé) have all power over the council; poor Gaston (M. d'Orleans) remains; but is *nudum et inane nomen sine vi, et potentiâ.* Seventy-two bishops have been also sent off to their dioceses." *

The court and capital were now purged from malcontents. The Queen had acted on the old proverb— "Slay the whelps if you kill the wolf;" and the survivors, who had weathered Anne's *razzia*, gazed with bated breath over the ground so unscrupulously won. The young Abbé de Retz-Gondy, coadjutor of his uncle the Archbishop of Paris, describes, in his admirable but often flippant phrase, the position of the chief personages of the court. Gondy, though young, was already greatly considered for his aptness, his witty speech, and for the dauntless front with which he encountered, and overcame obstacles. Considered by the Queen as a youthful busy-body, whose intrusions it was necessary to repress, and whose vauntings were not always to be reconciled by facts, she yet indulged the young Abbé, whose pleasant manners, and entertaining

* Lettres de M. Guy Patin à Charles et Jaques Spon.—Lettre 169, vol. 1.

stories, ever rendered him a welcome guest. The authority of the Archbishop of Paris was quite extinguished in his own diocese, after the election to the coadjutorship of his enterprising nephew; who now exercised the gifts, which hereafter were to be so pungently felt by the government, in adjusting clerical disputes; and in stretching to their utmost limits the privileges, and rights of the metropolitan chapter of Notre Dame. High were the secret aspirations of the young Gondy; sprung paternally from the Italian Gondis—a scion maternally of the house de la Rochefort, a branch of that of Montmorency—Gondy coveted the rank of a prince of Holy Church, and that of prime minister of France! Had the Queen appreciated his abilities, and taken him into her counsels, perhaps the political storms hanging over the realm might have been mitigated; but a loquacious tongue, and fussy manner, had more than once marred the fortunes of M. de Gondy. "At the period of the arrest of M. de Beaufort," Gondy writes, "people deemed themselves deeply obliged to M. le Cardinal, that they were not doomed to the same fate. The Cardinal, however, took all manner of pains to cause it to be believed that the Queen, and M. le Prince had managed matters against his own better judgment. The day after the *coup d'état*, he was more civil and pleasant than ever, and invited people to dine with him, like any other private person. What surprised me at this time was, that the princes, and great lords, who ought to possess more foresight than the commonalty, were so blind. Monsieur, however, deemed himself too grand to profit by any example: M. le Prince,

really attached to the court from avarice, was determined to put trust therein; M. d'Enghien was young, and inclined to doze under the weight of his laurels; M. de Longueville opened his eyes, but shut them again; M. de Vendôme thought himself lucky to escape with exile only; M. de Guise, only just returned from Brussels, was governed by Madame de Pons, but believed that he gave law to the court; M. de Bouillon hoped to have Sèdan restored; M. de Turenne was more than satisfied to command the German army; M. d'Epêrnon was transported with joy, because he recovered both his forfeited government, and his office at court; M. de Schomberg was a confirmed courtier; M. de Grammont was a slave of royalty; MM. de Retz, de Vitry, and de Bassompierre, believed themselves to be basking in favour, because they were no longer either prisoners, or exiles. The Parliament, delivered from Richelieu, dreamed that the Golden Age was to be revived under a minister who assured the members daily, that the Queen intended to rule in strict compliance with their counsels: such were the reasons why everybody, in an astonishing short period, cheered for Mazarin."

All the old friends of Anne of Austria were now exiled, or stripped of office, and of every particle of court influence. The Queen, by her own deliberate act, had given back power to the partisans and upholders of Richelieu's political views; and had renewed the persecution, which during the late reign, had befallen his opponents. In effecting this revolution, had the Queen any other motive than zeal for the prerogative,

and for the glory of the realm? "The Queen—let people surmise, and assert what they will—was compelled to avail herself of the services of Mazarin—*faute d'autres*," writes M. de Gondy. Anne herself perpetually repeated the same assertion. Mazarin in his journal plumes himself on the fact "that his services were indispensable." "La Chevreuse will be the ruin of the realm; Châteauneuf is incompetent; M. de Bové is led by the nose; M. de Buillon thinks only of Sèdan"—so the cardinal continues with irony, to note the defects, and shortcomings of his opponents. The Queen had lost her relish for the follies of her youth: she had become devout and sedate;* so much so, that M. de Beautru, a wit of the court, declared, "that already the Queen must be a saint; as she has performed the miracle of compelling the most devout to forget her past *coquetteries*." The remembrance of this coquetry, however, weighed heavily on the reputation of the Queen. Her determined selection of Mazarin, and the exile of his enemies, renewed the scandals current as to the personal preference which she bestowed on her minister.

Some ten days after the arrest of Beaufort, Madame de Brienne, one of Anne's ladies, wife of the secretary of state, retired into her Majesty's oratory to pray, as was often her custom, while waiting for her royal mistress, who was holding council. The Queen presently entered the oratory, with a rosary in her hand,

* "La reine me dit qu'elle n'avait plus le goût pour les amusements de la jeunesse."—La Rochefoucauld.

and knelt down, sighing deeply, and apparently depressed in mind. A movement purposely made by Madame de Brienne attracted the attention of her Majesty, who said, "Is that you, Madame de Brienne? Draw near to me, that our united petitions may be more surely granted?" When their prayer was concluded, Madame de Brienne, who was a lady of years, and greatly revered for her piety, and her zeal for good works, timidly asked the Queen, whether she might tell her some of the rumours current in Paris respecting the Cardinal? Anne instantly gave permission. "My mother," states M. de Brienne,* "then related to the Queen, all that slander surmised against her and Mazarin: and she told me she perceived that her Majesty blushed several times up to the white of her eyes—these are her own words. 'But why,' replied the Queen emphatically, 'did you not tell me this before?' I avow, Madame, that I do like M. le Cardinal —tenderly, even: but this sentiment is not love; or if it is, my senses have become obtuse, and share not in the feeling. My intellect is charmed with the beauty of his intellect. Is such a feeling criminal, tell me? If a shadow of evil clings to such sentiment, I renounce it now, in the presence of God, and of the sacred relics before me! I will never more speak to M. le Cardinal, except on state affairs. I will break up the discourse, if it ever strays upon other matters!' My mother," continues de Brienne, "tenderly seized the Queen's hand, and placed it on a reliquary, which she took from

* Mém. de Brienne (Henri de Lomenie), t. ii., chap. 2.

the altar, saying, 'Swear to me, Madame, upon this sacred relic, always to keep the promise that you have just made.' 'I swear: and I pray God, moreover, to punish me if I fail in my promise!' replied Anne, firmly. The two friends then embraced; and the Queen found comfort in the pious exhortations, and wise counsel of Madame de Brienne." This is the only known confidence made by Anne of Austria on the subject of Mazarin. In the silence, and secrecy of her private chamber, Anne's feelings had been wrought upon by the affectionate appeal of Madame de Brienne, who was in intimate daily relations with St. Vincent de Paul, and the pious nuns; all of whom the Queen had been compelled to sacrifice, because their narrow view of politics, she believed, might endanger her son's crown. Naturally, therefore, she desired that her conduct should be vindicated, in its apparently most culpable aspect, in their opinion; and, probably, she therefore departed from her usual angry reserve of manner whenever the origin of Mazarin's favour was even remotely surmised in her presence. "The Duc de Beaufort and his friends had brought things to such a pass, that reconciliation between him, and M. de Mazarin had become impossible!" exclaimed Anne of Austria, to Montague years afterwards. "I had, therefore, to elect, whether the advantages, and conquests made by M. de Richelieu should be ceded; and whether my son's crown should be shared by the princes of his blood!" In every way the Queen sought to impress this conviction. Passing by a portrait of the Cardinal de Richelieu hanging in the gallery at Ruel, Anne paused, and earnestly con-

templating the picture, exclaimed, addressing the attendant throng of courtiers:—"Messieurs! if that man were now living, I would make him more powerful than ever!"

Anne's domestic habits at this period were simple and regular. She rose between ten and eleven in the morning, and for the following hour admitted to audience the various officers of her household, who presented themselves to take orders for the day; also she saw daily, several ladies, her almoners. The King and his brother then visited their mother. Anne heard mass, and then breakfasted with appetite. The Queen next passed into her *grand cabinet de toilette*, where all her ladies waited, and the business of her toilette commenced. While the Queen's hair was dressed, the gentlemen of the court were admitted. "Then," says Madame de Motteville, "it was truly a treat to watch her Majesty's beautiful hands as they were dexterously employed in the business of her toilette. She had the most beautiful hair in the world; long, and very thick. She caused herself to be dressed with care and perfection. After the death of the King she ceased to use rouge; or to heighten the whiteness of her skin by artificial aid." The toilette over, Anne granted audience to her ministers; she then dined privately, waited upon by her bedchamber women. After the repast she entered her coach, and drove about Paris with the young King, generally visiting some convent, where chocolate was presented. She then returned to the Louvre, and held a reception, at which all the Princes were present, and the Cardinal de Mazarin. "M. de

Mazarin seldom failed to appear; when discourse was carried on publicly between the Queen, himself, and the high personages present, which habit caused a great assemblage of courtiers." When the Duc d'Orleans retired, Anne entered her private cabinet, where Mazarin followed, and a conference on state affairs lasted about an hour, the doors of the apartment standing open. Anne then appeared again in the circle for a quarter of an hour, before she finally retired to her private apartments. She then entered her oratory, and passed an hour and a half in prayer, and in *téte-à-téte* conferences with Mazarin and others, who were admitted by a private staircase. She then supped, about eleven, conversing pleasantly with the officers, and ladies of the privy chamber,—Mademoiselle de Beaumont, Mesdames de Motteville, and de Brégis, MM. Guitaut, Comminges, de Jars, Beringhen, Montague, Chandenier, the Marshals de Crequi, and de Grammont. Conversation was thus maintained until one o'clock, when the ceremonies of the Queen's *coucher* commenced, which lasted an hour. Every one then retired. Anne's days for holding council were Mondays and Thursdays; every Saturday she attended high mass in state, at Nôtre Dame. On the vigils of saint-days her Majesty repaired to Val de Grâce. When there, her leisure was more innocently occupied than of yore, in giving audiences to architects, painters, and artists, whom she was employing to rebuild the convent, and church, on a scale of surpassing splendour, in accordance with the solemn vow which she made on the birth of her son, King Louis.

The King meanwhile passed a happy childhood under

the care of Madame de Senécé. His household was ordered with the utmost magnificence; nothing being omitted to foster that love of pomp, and that overweening notion of royal prerogative, which afterwards distinguished the character of the King in its maturity. He was also taught to be liberal, courteous, and magnanimous. A band of the noblest children in the realm, called *la compagnie des enfans d'honneur*, was organised; and some of these playfellows accompanied him whenever he went abroad. The troop was subjected to strict military discipline, and, with the King, went through a daily drill. Whenever the Queen appeared, all the members of this juvenile troop presented arms; they also lined the vestibule through which his Majesty passed, when he went out with his mother. Louis took much delight in his young soldiers, and was perpetually marching at their head up and down the long gallery of the Louvre. "The King's amusements were all warlike," relates one of these *enfants d'honneur*, the Count de Brienne: "as soon as his little hands could grasp a stick, the Queen had a large drum prepared, like that of the Cent Suisses, upon which he beat continually. I often made the King presents, such as small guns, swords, and little cannons made of brass, which he received most graciously." "Sire," said Madame de Senécé, "kings make gifts, but they never lend!" One of his boyish companions had begged the loan of a small, and richly jewelled crossbow, a toy made by King Louis XIII. The King hesitated, for with this bow he used to shoot at sparrows in the Tuilerie gardens. Reminded of the liberality becoming his rank, Louis in an instant took up

the prized bow, and with the most patronising air possible, he advanced to the boy, saying, "Sir, I wish it was a thing of greater value; but such as it is I give it to you!" The King was also taught to ride, in which exercise he delighted, and was often seen on horseback in the streets, attended by the Marshal de la Meilleraye; when the capital manner in which he managed his steed on several occasions so transported the persons passing, that forgetting the etiquette which hedges round a King, they caught at his bridle-rein, to gaze a moment admiringly upon his fair young face.

In the midst of the excitement consequent on the arrest of M. de Beaufort, the Duc d'Enghien arrived in Paris to salute the Regent, and to avenge the honour of his house, insulted, as he declared, in the person of Madame de Longueville, his sister. D'Enghien was received with honour by the Queen, and with deference by her minister. As M. de Beaufort was in prison, Condé had no opponent of sufficient rank against whom to measure his valiant sword. Coligny, the champion of Madame de Longueville, therefore challenged M. de Guise. "The Duc d'Enghien not being able to testify his resentment to M. de Beaufort, directed M. de Coligny to challenge M. de Guise," writes La Rochefoucauld. The combat took place on the Plâce Royale; the combatants fighting with swords and daggers. Coligny was not a skilful swordsman; he had, moreover, just recovered from a fit of fever. His second was the Count d'Estrades, who, according to the fashion of the day, fought the Marquis de Bridieu, second to M. de Guise. In vain Madame de Longueville

protested against the renewal of the quarrel. The impetuosity of the young hero of the Rhine was not to be checked, neither by the entreaty of the Queen, nor the disapprobation of Mademoiselle de Vigean,* to whom he declared himself passionately attached. As for Mazarin, careful not to hazard the good graces of Condé, he declared, "that if M. d'Enghien insisted, the duel must be fought, as he was not the master, but only the humble agent between her Majesty and the liberator of France!" The combat therefore took place on the 12th December; at three o'clock in the afternoon, in the presence of the Princesse de Condé, her daughter the Duchesse de Longueville, and d'Enghien, who viewed the scene from the saloon of the Duchess-dowager of Rohan, whose house was on the Place Royale. The Condé family, however, had the mortification to witness the overthrow of its champion; who was wounded so severely in the arm and shoulder, that he survived the conflict only five days, and died at St. Maur, a château belonging to M. le Prince, in which he had taken refuge. The parliament, scandalised at so public an outrage, cited both parties to the bar of their house. The affair, however, was suffered to drop after the death of the Count de Coligny; but Madame de Longueville, distressed and mortified, retired again from Paris. Lampoons innumerable were composed on this quarrel, and

* Marthe Poussart de Vigean:—

"Vigean est un soleil naissant,
Un bouton s'épanouissant,
Ou Vénus, qui sortant de l'onde,
Brûle le monde!"—VOITURE.

its tragic finale. One rhymer apostrophises Madame de Longueville thus:—

"Essuyez vos beaux yeux,
Madame de Longueville,
Essuyez vos beaux yeux,
Coligny se porte mieux!
S'il a demandé la vie,
Ne l'en blamez nullement,
Car c'est pour être votre amant,
Qu'il veut vivre éternellement!"

Mazarin meantime, notwithstanding his triumphs, continued uneasy. Anne was yet liable to hear murmurs to his disadvantage; besides, she still sometimes made promises, and conferred favours without his participation. She had also received a letter from Madame de Chevreuse, of which she had not informed the Cardinal. "Beautru told me: I am jealous, with the jealousy caused by supreme attachment!" writes Mazarin. "Chevreuse has been writing to M. de Guise to demand whether he disapproves her conduct, as has been reported to her? My enemies are again thinking to drive me to extremity, although they perceive that the Parliament, the Church, the nobles, and the people, love and esteem me, believing me to be disinterested, and zealous for the realm. La Châtre, with ten horsemen, visited Anet on Christmas-Eve; all were well armed, and accoutred. Marsillac (La Rochefoucauld) is a greater ally of Les Importants than ever. Her Majesty ought to try and gain for me the affection of all her servants, by bestowing through my hands every favour she grants. Plots against me are being organised—poison is now talked of. Croft has said a thousand impertinencies to the Queen; who,

however, has caused a good letter to be written to the King and Queen of England, showing how much she is aggrieved with the proceedings of Gorino, (Lord Goring,) and soliciting his recall." The misdemeanours of Madame de Hautefort, and of the Abbess of the Val de Grâce were the grievances, which, at the commencement of the new year, 1644, vexed the susceptibility of Mazarin. Madame de Hautefort continued in the service of the Queen, but treated her mistress with a *haut-en bas* manner, often very trying to Anne's haughty temper. She affected to pity the hallucination which had befallen her mistress; and shrugged her fair shoulders in public whenever the name of the Cardinal was mentioned. Moreover, the Cardinal suspected "Otfort," as he calls her in his notes, of having written a parody on the famous song published at the death of Richelieu, beginning with the lines—

"Il est passé, il a plié baggage,
Ce Cardinal dont c'est bien grand dommage,
Pour sa maison," etc., etc., etc.

The new song commenced thus—

"Il n'est pas mort, il n'a que changé d'âge,
Ce Cardinal, dont chacun en enrage!"

She was also declared to be the author of a vexatious anagram—"Je suis Armand,"* found in the words Jules de Mazarin. Hautefort was also accused of prompting the Abbess of Val de Grâce to attack the Queen; and of having encouraged her to admit to Anne's presence a daughter of the Duc de Vendôme, a nun of

* Armand was the baptismal name of the Cardinal de Richelieu.

the Carmelites of the Rue St. Jacques, to plead for her brother, de Beaufort. "All the convents are against me, particularly Val de Grâce; when her Majesty leaves the said Val de Grâce, she seems no longer so well disposed in my favour; she never confides to me the subject of her conference with this said Abbess, who is a woman of energy, and well informed of past events."* Perpetual and worrying intercessions for M. de Beaufort also proceeded from the lips of Madame de Hautefort; who, in most matters, was more zealous than discreet. Driving with the Queen in the neighbourhood of Vincennes, in the early spring of 1644, Hautefort made urgent appeal to Anne's feelings, and past gratitude on behalf of "*ce pauvre garçon de Beaufort,*" who was pining in his prison. Anne remained silent: nevertheless, Madame de Hautefort continued to reproach, and harass her until they returned to the palace, when she finally took her leave supperless, as she said, "she could neither eat, nor sleep for thinking of 'ce pauvre garçon' at Vincennes, sick and lonely." Anne's dissatisfaction was skilfully inflamed by Mazarin; who expatiated on the continued contumacy of M. de Vendôme; and on the slackness of M. de Chavigny, governor of Vincennes, in permitting such exaggerated accounts of the condition of his prisoner to be bruited abroad.

"Madame de Hautefort," says de Motteville, "was the only person who now caused disquietude to the Cardinal. All that the Queen did also unhappily displeased her, while the familiarity which she had long enjoyed gave her liberty to show this dissatisfaction.

* Carnets de Mazarin, Bibl. Imp.; MS. de Baluze Arm. vi.

The Queen would not tolerate this mode of conduct; and the Cardinal then did all in his power to imbitter her sentiments towards de Hautefort." Anne had suffered much—more patiently, perhaps, than could have been expected; her forbearance had now reached its limits, and she resolved to rid herself of a censor so impertinent, and irksome. A few days elapsed, and another fit of ill-humour seized upon de Hautefort. At such times it was always her habit to thrust some request before the Queen. While undressing her royal mistress, she therefore "ventured to recommend the case of a poor gentleman who had sought a pension, through the good offices of Mademoiselle Filandre, the Queen's dresser." Anne listened languidly, and gave an indefinite reply. The temper of Madame de Hautefort at once flamed; and with a disdainful smile, she reminded her Majesty "that it was neither royal, nor the act of a Christian woman, to forget the claims of old servants." "Madame," retorted the Queen, rising, "I am weary of your insolent reprimands. I feel extremely dissatisfied with the disrespect you show me: close the curtains of my bed, and never presume to speak to me more on affairs however trivial!" Speechless with astonishment, de Hautefort threw herself on her knees by the Queen's bed, and taking God to witness, she vowed the sincerity of her intentions and her devotion to her royal mistress, towards whom, she declared, she had never wilfully erred. The friend and biographer of Madame de Hautefort, differs from Madame de Motteville in her relation of this parting scene. The former was alone with Anne when the scene occurred, who related it to de Motteville on the following morning.

"Madame de Hautefort," says her special biographer, "told me, that after this rebuke, she calmly closed her Majesty's curtains, saying, 'I protest to you, Madame, that had I served God as faithfully as I have you, I should now be indeed glorious, as a saint!' Raising her eyes to a crucifix hanging against the bed, she exclaimed—'Lord, Thou knowest what I have done for her!'" The Queen, according to both narratives, made no reply, but composed herself to sleep. The next morning, she sent orders to Madame de Hautefort to leave the palace, and to take away her niece, Mademoiselle d'Escars. Madame de Hautefort obeyed, according to the one recital, with hysterical sobs and protestations;—the other account states, that she took a dignified farewell of her companions of the household, and retired to the convent Des Filles de Sainte Marie, Rue St. Antoine. Mazarin meantime, represented the fracas between the Queen, and her quondam favourite, quite in a new light.* In a letter to M. Beringhen, who was then absent on a mission in Holland, he says—"You will be surprised to hear that the day before yesterday the Queen dismissed Madame de Hautefort. The thing happened on the occasion of some petition which the said lady made to her Majesty. She was so urgent, that the Queen began to censure the troublesome zeal of certain persons. This rebuke Madame de Hautefort applied to herself; and forthwith resigned her post in the household, which her Majesty at once accepted, being already greatly displeased with her conduct. The Queen has strictly forbidden

* Carnets de Mazarin, Bibl. Imp.; MS. de Baluze; Aubéry, Hist. du Cardinal de Mazarin, t. i.

that any intercession shall be made on her behalf." "I dare not now pay a visit to Madame de Hautefort," relates Madame de Motteville, "for when I asked permission from her Majesty, she coldly replied, that I was mistress of my own actions, and might do as I pleased."

The Cardinal de Mazarin had one more anxiety, which it was in the power of Anne of Austria to assuage. His abode, in the half-furnished and unguarded Hôtel de Clêves, was perilous; while his frequent flittings between that residence, and the Louvre, which were taken at stated hours, exposed him unnecessarily, to the malicious enterprises of his foes. Anne was depressed and ailing; the dull corridors, and small private apartments of the old Louvre increased her gloom. Sorrowful memories of the past, and perhaps of the old friends who once adored her in such perfect faith and admiration, rendered the palace hateful to her. Mazarin therefore suggested that the Queen should hold her court at the Palais Cardinal, the splendid mansion of the deceased Cardinal de Richelieu, and which he had bequeathed to the crown as a future residence for the King, or for the Dauphin of France. Mazarin further requested that apartments might be there assigned to him; that "under the protection of the King, and having easy access to the Regent, he might profitably vindicate the trust reposed in him by her Majesty." Anne therefore sanctioned the reappropriation by Mazarin of the apartments in the Palais Cardinal, which he had inhabited during the life of Richelieu. "Her Majesty agrees upon the expediency of giving me office in her household, so that

I may reside near her." The Queen was then irritated and alarmed, at the plots to assassinate her minister, and therefore, cordially extended to him the shelter of the royal abode. Eventually Anne had reason to regret her easy and imprudent compliance, and the near neighbourhood of Mazarin, as all manner of malignant stories were manufactured during the future troubles. Nevertheless, his abode under the same roof as his royal mistress, doubtless saved the Cardinal from a personal experience of the fury of popular hate; and enabled her to persist in forcing upon the nation, a minister truly so able, but yet so decried. The splendid furniture, decorations, and pictures from the Louvre were transferred to the Palais Cardinal, and there the Queen and her son established themselves about the 10th of December, 1643. The Queen's apartments were superb, and consisted of the right wing of the mansion, overlooking la Cour des Prôues. This part of the Palais Cardinal, henceforth named Royal,—was left unfinished at the death of Richelieu, and had been completed under the personal inspection of the Queen. Anne added to the splendid state apartments a gallery already designed, a bath-room, an oratory, and a second gallery, called La Galerie du Conseil. This formed the west side of the quadrangle of the Cour des Prôues, and communicated with the suite occupied by Mazarin. The Cardinal's apartments opened on the court leading to the Rue de Bons Enfants. A guard of soldiers did duty within this court, and sentinels watched its outlets; so that his Eminence, at length found the peaceful security which he deemed needful for the transaction of business of state.

Anne had no sooner settled in her new palace than she fell ill with an attack of jaundice; brought on, as it was publicly stated, by anxiety of mind, and distress at the exile of the friends who had been the solace, as well as the partakers of the perils, and disgraces of her Married Life.

CHAPTER IV.

1643-1647.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA ADOPTS THE POLICY OF THE CARDINAL DE RICHELIEU.

"BEHOLD, now, the Queen without anxiety and without dread of Les Importants!" exclaims Madame de Motteville, with hearty delight. The defeated faction had submitted; every one, Cardinalisque, or Important, pitied M. de Beaufort, but no one stirred to effect his release, or to avenge his cause. From their distant places of exile, Mesdames de Chevreuse, and de Montbazon plotted, and menaced; but the trusty agents of the Cardinal captured their missives, and maintained over their abodes a vigilance so watchful, that no act, or treasonable word, failed to be transmitted to the minister, and by him to be laid before the Queen. Anne, though she now for the first time in her life enjoyed at ease the royal luxury and state, which she valued so highly, by no means abandoned her power. Her clever minister then, as ever, was subservient to her will; her policy might be, perhaps, and probably was the result of the midnight inspirations so skilfully infused by Mazarin, who possessed the art of identifying himself as

a stranger and foreigner, like the Queen herself, in Anne's destinies; and whose open speech, and courtesy of manner enabled him to serve her by softening the asperities of language and manner, too often apparent in her communications with her ministers. Abroad, the promotion of Mazarin, and the defeat of the party of the great feudal *noblesse*, inspired all Catholic potentates with anger and dread; while Richelieu's former allies—the Queen of Sweden, the Dutch Republic, and the Protestant princes of Germany—exulted. The Prince of Orange even, instructed his ambassador to visit the Queen, to express the gratitude of the States-General, and the appreciation entertained by that august assembly of her Majesty's capacity; inasmuch as she had been pleased to grant so notable a mark of her adherence to the policy of the late Cardinal, as the exile of Madame de Chevreuse, and the instalment of M. de Mazarin as chief of her council.

England, convulsed by civil war, but regarding the defeat of the court party as a step in the right direction, looked complacently on the overthrow of the foes of Mazarin; while the unfortunate Queen, Henrietta of France, found herself, in the course of a few months, driven to solicit the protection of the very minister whose exile she had instructed the English ambassador, in Paris, to compass. King Charles I., in the hands of his ruthless enemies, a prisoner, the crown already smitten from his anointed head, was quoted to the Queen by Mazarin, as a wholesome example of the ruin which surely would befal a prince who abandons his minister; while his opponents, the great lords of the

court, averred that King Charles's fate was a lesson which admonished monarchs to restrain betimes the lawless excesses committed in the name of liberty; and to sift from the executive men of plebeian origin, whose inclinations tended to destroy those above them, and to abase the august functions of government. Spain, and the Empire received the news of the elevation of Mazarin in disdainful silence; but prepared vigorously for the continuation of the war—a war which Philip IV. sarcastically observed, "was the price which Europe had to pay, in order that his sister the Christian Queen, might maintain, and indulge an unworthy preference for the son of Colonna's steward!"* Similar gibes, uttered in the halls of the Palais Royal, somewhat disturbed the complacency of the new minister. The young Duc d'Enghien jested, and treated Mazarin in public with a familiarity which the late Cardinal would have punished by the Bastille. He, moreover, roundly declined to grant him precedence; for some days the dispute threatened to become serious, but was at length compromised by the prudent Mazarin, who consented to yield the *pas* to M. d'Enghien within the royal palaces, provided that his rank as a Prince of the Church was recognised in religious ceremonies, and within all ecclesiastical edifices. The *bonhommie* affected by Mazarin, and his pleasant, and encouraging mention of his exiled foes, were mis-

* The Cardinal's father, Piero Mazarini (so the Cardinal always spelled his name, until he became Prime Minister of France), was first an usher of the chamber to the Constable Colonna; he was afterwards promoted to the office of steward, or receiver-general, of the revenues of the Colonna family. The Mazarini were Sicilian by origin. The grandfather of the Cardinal was a papal messenger during the pontificate of Clement VIII.

understood, to the astonishment, and rage of several of the hearers of such placable declarations. "Madame de Hautefort, it gives me much content to hear, is well; she need not despair: all may yet go well between her and the Queen." "The return of Madame de Chevreuse to court depends upon her own conduct: I myself shall personally be glad to greet her again!—M. de Vendôme and his sons must take patience; they have erred in displeasing her Majesty, but, *eccola!* no person is finally so welcome as the returned prodigal!"—Mazarin was heard to say on several occasions, in his most benignant tones. When it became known, however, that Madame de Hautefort could not obtain one written word from the Queen, or one softened glance when she accidentally met her Majesty in public; when the exempt Riquetti was despatched in disguise to watch the Duchesse de Chevreuse; when it was ascertained that M. Brassy had been suborned as King's evidence in the Bastille, to give testimony against his late patron de Vendôme; and when the letters became public, written by Mazarin to Cardinal Bichi and others, vehemently demanding from the Holy See, in the name of France, the surrender of his intended assassins,—people began to comprehend, and to deal more circumspectly with Anne's new minister. Condé adhered outwardly to his pact with Mazarin: like his son, he was deceived by the apparent pliability of the minister; and, flattered by the smiles of the Queen. Surfeited with wealth, and honours, and office, the Prince, in fact, had nothing to covet. The Queen had already bestowed on M. d'Enghien the government of Champagne;* and by

* M. "d'Enghien jetta les yeux sur le gouvernement de Champagne, tant

a royal decree had restored to her friend Madame la Princesse, the rich confiscations which had lapsed to the crown on the execution of the Duc de Montmorency. Condé was diligent in attending the council; where his snappish retorts, and swelling importance, sometimes challenged the laughter, but oft-times the rebuke of the Queen.

The interest and energies of Monsieur, fortunately for Mazarin, were at this period absorbed in furnishing the Luxembourg, a palace bequeathed to him by his mother Marie de Medici; and in querulous outbreaks of temper relative to various rich effects belonging to the late Queen, and left to him, the which, having been seized by the crown, were not produced speedily enough to satisfy Monsieur's impatience. The Duchess Marguerite, —who hereafter acted as so sharp a spur on Monsieur's *recalcitrant* politics,—was also at this time absorbed in her study of the French language; and in acquiring the art of attiring her somewhat unwieldy person according to the fashions of her adopted country. The Duc de Vendôme, meantime, fearing for his liberty, fled from Auet, and took refuge in Italy.* His wife, and only daughter Madame de Nemours, in despair at the ruin of their house, and moved by the piteous plaints of M. de Beaufort from his prison chamber, resolved to

par la facilité qu'il y avoit de le tirer des mains du maréchal de l'Hôpital, que pour ce qu'elle confine à la Bourgogne dont le Prince de Condé était le gouverneur."—Bibl. Imp. Suppl. t. n. 923, Mem. Inédits.

* M. de Vendôme voyant qu'on le voulait arrêter, ou le faire sortir de France, se resolût au dernier, comme le plus sûr. Il prit une perruque noire, se peignit de la même couleur la barbe qu'il avoit blonde, et suivi de deux des siens, traversa ainsi déguisé toute la France, se rendit à Génève, et alla ensuite en Suisse, d'où il passa en Italie."—Mém. de Campion, p. 264.

propitiate Mazarin by a bribe, which, if accepted, would, they hoped, prove an apple of discord, and break up the alliance between the minister, and the princes of the blood. Through Madame d'Estrées,* therefore, they proposed to the Cardinal that his niece, Louise Victoire Mancini, should be affianced to M. de Mercœur, heir of Vendôme! Mazarin was shrewd enough to avoid the snare, and to be silent on the proposal; but the Queen thought proper to inform M. de Condé of the honour done to M. le Cardinal. Condé, perceiving at once the vast consequences which might ensue from a matrimonial alliance between Mazarin and Vendôme, and being perhaps, for the first time, made aware of the existence of the lovely damsels immortalised as "*les Nièces de Mazarin*," took alarm; and from thenceforth treated the Cardinal so distantly, and sought the favour of Monsieur, that the former, again beset by difficulties from the menaced union of the princes, adopted a course of policy to neutralise their power, and secure his own.

The proposition relative to his niece elicited strong expressions from the Cardinal on the cajolery attempted by the two duchesses. He says—"At the very time when Madame de Vendôme, the Duc de Mercœur, and Madame de Nemours opened negotiations with me for the marriage of one of my nieces with Mercœur, with protestations of indissoluble affection, the said ladies were making like assurances to M. le Prince, proposing the marriage of Mercœur, with the daughter of the Count d'Alais, to

* Marie de Montimor, widow of the Marquis de Thémines. She was the wife of the Marshal d'Estrées, maternal uncle of M. de Vendôme.

induce the said prince to interfere, and effect the release of M. de Beaufort. They also tried to negotiate an alliance with Mademoiselle de Guise—from which facts one may judge of the sincerity of these said ladies de Vendôme." *

The Queen quitted her widow's weeds in May, 1644, and, notwithstanding the vexatious intrigues of the period, the court was brilliant, and enlivened by sumptuous fêtes. The Cardinal disliked gloom and restraint; and though he denied to his political opponents a fraction of true power, he willingly permitted the great lords to become the recipients of court privileges and favours; and to be the channel through which her Majesty's grace was conveyed to others. Great ladies were propitiated by all sorts of indulgences—one personage took a fancy to build a mansion in the middle of Place Royale, and was actually permitted to indulge her whim! Notwithstanding the costs of the pending war, grants of money were presented to favoured personages. The Queen gave liberally,† and for the first eighteen months after Mazarin's accession to office, the court, weeded of dissidents, was splendid and joyous. All the leading cavaliers and ladies of Anne's court were in the first lustre of youth. Mesdames de Longueville, de Guiméné, de Bouillon, de Chatillon, de Nemours, and de Montbazon, were all under thirty years of age—all brilliant young matrons, whose loveliness has been bequeathed to poste-

* Carnets de Mazarin.—Car. vi. p. 7.

† "La Feuillade disait qu'il n'y avait plus que quatre mots dans la langue Françoise; 'La Reine est si bonne!—on ne refusait rien!'"—Mém. de Retz, p. 83.

rity by the exquisite enamels of the painter Petitôt. Anne herself feared no rivalry in charms—her complexion was as fresh, her hair as glossy and abundant, her carriage as majestic, and her bust, arms, and hands as exquisite in symmetry, as when Buckingham, in his mad admiration, pronounced her to be the most peerless of princesses. Mesdemoiselles de Montpensier, de Clêves Nevers, d'Epernon, de Pons, de Vigean, the nieces of the Duc de Bouillon, and many other noble damsels, bloomed during the first halcyon years of Anne's regency. MM. d'Enghien and Turenne were the first captains of the age; the gallant and eccentric Duc de la Rochefoucauld devoted himself, in his semi-disgrace with his royal mistress, to literature, and to flirtation with Madame de Longueville; the young Ducs de Richelieu and de Châtillon were the great matches of the court; the coadjutor de Gondy, also, witty, lively, and full of quaint imaginings and theories, diverted the Queen; though duly warned by Mazarin, she was ever on her guard against his "subtleties of tongue," and his alleged ambition.

Meantime, the exigencies of the war required the departure from the capital of the Duc d'Enghien, and his chivalrous followers. D'Enghien, fortunately, was no less eager to depart; and solicited the command-in-chief in Flanders, to follow up his victory of Rocroy, by driving every Spaniard from the province. His Eminence, fully sensible of the impolicy of permitting M. d'Enghien to absorb all military glory, stirred up Monsieur to demand the same command; which, as first prince of the blood, and Lieutenant-General of the

realm, it would be impossible to refuse. It was one of Monsieur's delusions to believe himself a great tactician, whose military services during the late reign had been obscured by the jealousy of King Louis XIII. He, therefore, eagerly took the hint; but asked for the government of Languedoc, as a kind of rehabilitation of his military reputation; for in that government was Castelnaudari, the field whereon the late Duc de Montmorency fell, and where Monsieur, finding the day lost, had retreated, leaving his friends to the mercy of the conqueror.* As Monsieur had exerted his influence to obtain the government of Champagne for M. d'Enghien, so now Condé clamorously supported his demand. The Queen had no alternative but assent—a mortifying fact, which more than ever confirmed Mazarin in his designs of breaking the political concord between the princes, by inspiring their jealous distrust of each other's designs. He duly remembered that the Duke of Orleans was allied by his wife to the house of Lorraine—a race inimical to that of Bourbon; while the dastardly manner in which Monsieur had abandoned the Duc de Montmorency to his fate, was never alluded to by the Princesse de Condé, but with tears of passion, and hatred. To make Monsieur, therefore, the apparent rival of her gallant son, was a notable expedient to create division and alienation. Monsieur, therefore, departed supremely content, to take the command of the Flemish army; while to the Duc d'Enghien was committed the defence of the frontier of Luxembourg. Fortune, however, soon

* See Married Life of Anne of Austria, vol. i. p. 322.

favoured the young hero, and relieved him from so paltry a command. In Germany, Turenne was hardly pressed by the famous Imperial generals, the Count de Mercy and John de Werth. On the defeat of the Marshal de Rantzau,* in 1643, he had been sent by the Queen to take the command of the German army; but, despite his able tactics, he could not prevent the enemy from commencing the campaign of 1644, by the siege of Fribourg. Turenne, therefore, sent earnest entreaties for succour to the privy council, and asked for reinforcements. Mazarin responded, by ordering the Duc d'Enghien, with his Luxembourg contingent of 6000 troops, to join Turenne; and to take the command as Generalissimo of the French armies in Germany. In Catalonia, Mazarin also sent a powerful contingent under the Count d'Harcourt,† who captured Rosas, and Tortosa. In Italy also the war was vigorously pursued under Prince Thomas of Savoy, and by the Duke of Parma.

About this period Mazarin was also able to extend his protection to his ancient patrons, the Princes Barbarini; who, on the death of their uncle, Pope Urban, July 24, 1644, were persecuted, and driven from Rome by his successor, Innocent X.; and, with Anne's consent, he eventually offered the exiles refuge in France, until their quarrel with the new pontiff was adjusted.

* At Teuttingen. Mercy fell upon him while he was dining, and carried him off a captive, with his officers, artillery, and baggage—November, 1643.

† Henri de Lorraine, Grand Ecuyer, younger son of the Duc d'Elbœuf, by Catherine Henriette, daughter of Henri Quatre and Gabrielle d'Estrées. He bore the sobriquet of "le Cadet à la Perle," because he wore in one ear a pearl of great size, and beauty. The Count d'Harcourt died 1666.

In the midst of the leave-takings of the illustrious personages, ere they set out for the campaign, Mazarin received tidings from Rome of the decease of his mother, Donna Hortensia. His Eminence demonstrated great affliction, and quitted the Palais Royal for a retreat of four days at Chaillot. There all the court repaired to present their condolences, including the Regent and her son, the Duke of Orleans, Condé, and the Duc d'Enghien. Madame de Mazarini * was a woman of beauty and talent, and the daughter of a notary in the employ of the Colonna family, the patrons also of the Cardinal's father. She lived to see both her fortunate sons raised to the cardinalate,—the younger, Giulio, becoming prime minister of France; the elder, Michele, French Viceroy of Catalonia. With rare discretion, Piero Mazarini never forced his presence on his sons; content to view their elevation from afar, he accepted their rich gifts, and sedulously superintended the education of his youthful grand-daughters. A few months after the death of his wife, Hortensia, Mazarini contracted a fresh alliance, greatly to the satisfaction of his sons, with Donna Portia Orsini, daughter of the Duc de Bracciano.† The beams of Mazarin's wonderful fortune were already brightening the career of his kinsmen.

* Hortensia Buffalini, god-daughter of Prince Colonna, who married her, "Con una dote più che conveniente alle facolta, e ai natali dello sposo."

† Scarron, in one of his coarse pasquinades, makes allusion to this alliance thus :—

"Mazarin—
Fils et petit fils d'un faquin,
Qui diffame la casa Ursine,
Par l'alliance Mazarine!"

War having been decided upon, the Queen's ministers were now called upon to provide funds to support its outlay. The ordinary revenue of the kingdom was far from sufficing for the extraordinary expenditure entailed by the five armies in the pay of France; for the subsidies promised to the Queen's allies; and for the liquidation of the gratuities granted to divers influential personages of the court. Immediately after the death of the late King, a loan of twelve millions of francs at fifteen per cent., had been raised by Chavigny to defray the expenses of the campaign, which terminated so gloriously by the victory of Rocroy. In the provinces the greatest distress, and indignation prevailed, consequent on the oppression and fraudulent conduct of the royal intendents, or farmers-general, to whom the taxes were farmed by the government, and who paid a fixed sum into the treasury: a pernicious custom, ever fatal to the prosperity of France, and happily abolished at the great Revolution. The great war, initiated and carried on by the policy of Richelieu, was unpopular, notwithstanding the victories, and renown of the French arms. Many deemed the alliance between Catholic France, and the Protestant powers, to be unhallowed: there was no popular impulse to destroy the *prestige* of the time-honoured realms of Spain, and Austria;* or to restrain ultramontane influence by extending the privileges of the Gallican Church. The people were burdened with taxation; commerce was annihilated by the anarchy which convulsed Europe; whole districts of the realm

* The policy of Henri Quatre, of Richelieu, and of Bonaparte the Emperor.

were uncultivated, and the male population marched off to recruit one, or other divisions of the army. The ruined gentry of the provinces, and the oppressed peasantry, in vain sought in the benefits to be derived from the great war, some immediate equivalent for the miseries they endured—and descried none. The political maxims, and ideas of Les Importants were far more in accord with the national sentiments; and it was reserved for Frenchmen only of a later day, to acknowledge the sagacity of the policy which eventually elevated France to a chief place amongst the nations of Europe. If Mazarin could have flattered the national vanity, by national victories, without demand on the public purse, his popularity would have been unbounded. Money, however, at the commencement of the campaign, was indispensable; and d'Emery, Anne's clever minister of finance, set himself to devise resources to meet the emergency. Among the obsolete statutes of the realm, he at length fell upon one which he deemed likely to supply the need. This was an edict, duly registered by the parliament of Paris in the reign of Henry II., which forbad the extension of the suburbs of Paris, under pain of confiscation of the houses so erected, and a fine to be imposed, at the discretion of government, upon all offenders. A hundred years had elapsed since the promulgation of this law; meantime, new streets, splendid palaces, and public buildings, had been erected on the forbidden sites. The public consternation was unequalled, therefore, when an edict appeared, in which the Queen commanded her loyal citizens to demolish their houses, and

to destroy their marts of commerce, unless they preferred to redeem them, by paying a certain tax upon every square yard of building erected in defiance of the edict of their late liege, King Henry II. The execution of the decree was committed to the officers of the Châtelet; who immediately proceeded to "*la toisé*," to survey, and make report to the privy council, to which all appeals were to be addressed. By this expedient d'Emery hoped to elude the interference of the High Court: he issued no fresh edict; the old law revived, was local in its effects, and rather concerned the municipal council of Paris, than the higher courts of the realm.*

The edict of *toisé* launched, Anne determined to take recreation at Ruel, the abode of the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, who was now in high favour at court. Anne was in merry spirits, and thoroughly enjoyed change of residence, strolling at twilight hour in the beautiful gardens, and listening to the delightful voice of one La Signora Leonora,† a *virtuosa*, whom Mazarin sent for from Italy, to gratify the musical tastes of Anne of Austria. Voiture, the poet and cynic, was likewise occasionally admitted into the presence of the Queen; whom he flattered by extempore poetical effusions, celebrating her charms, and her conquests.‡ Mazarin

* Mém. de Omer Talon. Aubéry, Vie du Cardinal Mazarin.

† The libels of the day are very severe on La Signora Leonora, and her former *liaison* with Mazarin.

‡ Voiture composed a poem, celebrating all the lovers of Queen Anne, which he presented. In these verses, he boldly asks the Queen, whether, if Buckingham could suddenly appear before her, she would prefer to converse with the Duke, or with le Père Vincent de Paul? giving his own suppositions, "although, for the present, '*l'Amour est banni de la cour.*'"

frequently visited his royal mistress, and brought her reports of the ferment in Paris relative to the new edict; and how the commissioners, one day, when attempting to perform their duties, had been pelted by the populace. Matters became worse in a few days; the assaults on the officers charged with the onerous duty of taxing the houses became so serious—the exasperated proprietors thereof, being supported in their resistance by dense mobs from the Faubourg St. Antoine—that soldiers were summoned to preserve public peace. The same afternoon a petition, from the owners of the streets, and suburbs, threatened with demolition or taxation, was presented to the Parliament of Paris. A motion was there immediately carried "to petition the Queen to prohibit the quest; and graciously to relieve her people from so odious a tax." Anne, on the news of these transactions, came immediately to the Palais Royal from Ruel; and commanded that measures should forthwith be suspended, until the King had further advised. A few weeks later, however, the commissioners again commenced their obnoxious proceedings. The unruly scenes continued, amidst riots which were daily suppressed by military force. Meantime, the Chamber again intervened with remonstrances, which were received with haughty disdain by Anne, who shortly replied, "That money was requisite to sustain the honour of the French arms abroad: and that it was better to put in force an ancient *ordonnance* which had once received the assent of the Parliament, than to issue new fiscal edicts." Language so peremptory took the Chamber by surprise: the Queen and her minister had hitherto pro-

fessed the utmost deference for the advice of Parliament. Mazarin declared that he regarded the Parliament of Paris as the tutor and guardian of the King in his minority; while Anne of Austria had declined to assume the Regency of the realm unless her act met with sanction from the Chamber.

Meantime the riots in Paris continued; and the safety of the city becoming seriously compromised, gave rise to a new complication. When a tax forcibly levied on the people of Paris was resisted by arms, it was customary for the affair to be canvassed by the Parliament—*toutes chambres assemblées*. The inferior courts sitting in the Palais de Justice, were the Courts of Inquests and Requests, the Court of Aids, and the Courts of Accompts. All these Courts met in the Palais, where the High Court, or Parliament of Paris, also held its sessions. An old and bitter dispute had long subsisted, whether the right of convocation of all these chambers appertained exclusively to the High Court; or whether convocation was obligatory on the demand of one, or more of the chambers. The High Court, which registered the royal edicts, and which alone was honoured by the presence of the King and the princes of the blood, obstinately maintained its privilege of convocation, which pretension it was the interest of government to support. Anne had there many warm friends and partisans; its members were principally men of mature experience, rich, moderate, and loyal to the sovereign. La Cour des Enquêtes, on the contrary, was a hotbed of sedition: its members favoured novelty and progress; and were distinguished for freedom of speech, and dislike of arbi-

trary government. This court, therefore, on the continuation of the tumults in Paris for *la toisé*, demanded, by its president, Amelot, that the affair should be laid before the assembled chambers. Mathieu Molé,* first president of the High Court, after conference with the Queen and Mazarin, refused to convoke the chambers; and maintained that the government, in seeking to put in force an old law once sanctioned by the Parliament, and which could only be abrogated by a royal edict, had not made an invasion on public liberty. The following morning a novel scene awaited the members of the High Court. The *séance* had scarcely been opened by Molé, than a clattering of feet was heard, the doors of the hall opened, and two and two the members of the Courts of Inquests, and Requests, entered. Taking their seats on the benches appropriated to them in the general assemblies, the members, respectfully saluting the president, sat in solemn silence.† Molé, dignified and self-possessed, was equal to the emergency: the silence of the invaders showed that they still respected parliamentary forms, which prescribed that all deliberations should be opened by the first president. The session, therefore, passed in profound silence; not one word being uttered by Molé, or by the intruders. For four successive days this strange proceeding continued: as the silence of the first president continued unbroken, not one of the young members presumed to violate parlia-

* Mathieu Molé, Seigneur de Lassy et de Champlâtreux, born in 1584; died 1656. He married Renée de Nicolai, and had ten children. His six daughters became nuns.

† St. Aulaire, Hist. de la Fronde, p. 119.

mentary etiquette by speaking. At the accustomed hour when the court rose, they defiled from the chamber back to their own hall of assembly.

Meantime business in all the courts was suspended, greatly to the inconvenience of the public. The Queen showed much irritation at this conduct. Anne, in this first opposition to her government, foresaw what Mazarin certainly did not apprehend; and was with difficulty prevented from taking measures to punish the insolence of the lower courts. Mazarin, however, ever averse to severity, sent for Molé, and together they succeeded in persuading the Queen to suspend the obnoxious edict of *la toisé*, in deference to the popular outcry, much against her inclination. Her Majesty, however, thought fit to administer a severe rebuke to the enterprising counsellors of les Enquêtes. Her message was, to the effect "that the Queen was shocked with the scandal of their proceedings. She did not desire to burden herself with matters of discipline, nor to decide to which courts appertained the right of summons to convocation—it was for the united Parliament to come to an understanding on that point. She, however, expected that la Cour des Enquêtes would remember its first and chiefest duty, which was to render justice to the subjects of the King; nor could the members suspend their functions for a day, without being pronounced unworthy to possess them. If such a proceeding, therefore, was again attempted, her Majesty intended to visit such offenders with condign punishment." Many murmurs were excited by this reprimand. Anne, however, had courage to make known her dis-

pleasure; and possessed the capacity, moreover, to enforce her threats, had she not been restrained by the temporising policy of Mazarin. The tax of *la toisé* being at length withdrawn, the municipal council of Paris consented to pay into the treasury, one-tenth of the sum originally demanded by the government.

The unpleasant irritation evoked by this event was effaced by the news of the capture of Gravelines by M. d'Orleans, and of the success likely to attend other military measures in Flanders. When the news arrived of the successful termination of the siege of Gravelines,* which was brought to the Queen by Mazarin, the King happened to be with his mother. Transported by the news, Louis threw his arms round the Cardinal's neck and embraced him tenderly.† The city was partially illuminated: the Luxembourg blazed with light, and a bonfire burned in the courtyard—honours offered to her husband by the Duchess of Orleans. The court went in state to Notre Dame, where a Te Deum was intoned with great ceremony.‡ M. d'Enghien was to Monsieur what in ancient days Miltiades had proved to Themistocles. Jealous of the glory of the young hero, Monsieur had surpassed himself, and achieved a conquest relative to which he never ceased to speculate in wonder, for the remainder of his life. The public, however, attributed the honours of this successful siege to the Marshal de la Meilleraye, *adlatus* to the Duke.

* The place capitulated July 29, St. Anne's Day.

† Aubéry, Vie de Cardinal de Mazarin, liv. ii. p. 215.

‡ "On ne peut pas douter de quelle importance était la prise de Gravelines. Le siège dura plus que deux mois."—Aubéry, liv. ii.

In Germany, M. d'Enghien had been also gaining fresh laurels. On the day when Anne quitted Ruel to suppress the riots in Paris, a splendid victory at Fribourg over the imperial generals, again conferred lustre on the armies of France. The combat lasted three days; and terminated by the retreat of the Count de Mercy, in headlong flight to the Bavarian frontier, leaving his artillery and baggage, in the hands of the enemy. D'Enghien pursued his success, and led his army upon Philipsbourg, which, after eleven days' siege, he compelled to capitulate; while Turenne, besieged Landau, which town likewise opened its gates to the French. These brilliant successes transported the Queen. In her joy she remembered no longer that her former ally, and brother-in-law the Emperor, suffered from the triumph of her arms; or that the Catholic King, her brother, wept over her hostile attitude towards her once beloved Spain, the country of her birth!

At Fontainebleau, in the autumn of the year, the two successful generals met. The Duke of Orleans, Condé, and M. d'Enghien, then agreed to suspend the discussion of their private grievances, and to unite for the better ordering of the government. The Queen at this period seems not to have been quite satisfied with her minister, whose conduct in the affair of *la toisé*, she said, had been weak, and vacillating. Anne saw that his authority was little respected by the princes, especially by M. de Condé; of whose saucy quibbling when in council, her Majesty made bitter complaint to Madame la Princesse.* During the

* "S. M. dica a Mma. la Principessa in confidenza, che la condotta del

sojourn of the court at Fontainebleau, Mazarin fell ill of bilious fever, and was thought for a brief period to be in danger of death. The persons most in Anne's confidence declared, that she had the missives already written recalling M. de Châteauneuf to her counsels, in case of the death, or resignation of his office, by the Cardinal. Mazarin, however, recovered, and gradually resumed his place in the good graces of the Queen.

During the winter of 1644, many gorgeous fêtes were given, for the record of which, and other festivities, space would fail in this record of Anne's troubled regency. The Queen of England, the unfortunate Henrietta Maria, arrived a fugitive in France, and was received affectionately by Anne, who assigned to her a pension, and apartments in the forsaken Louvre. Oppressed in mind and body, Henrietta earnestly desired to see Madame de Chevreuse, her old friend; and as she was intending to make sojourn at the baths of Bourbon, she asked permission of the Queen to invite the duchess. Anne replied with her usual grace, "that Henrietta was at liberty to indulge so natural an inclination." It was nevertheless, privately intimated to the Queen of England by M. de Jars, "that Queen Anne would, in reality, take it amiss if she admitted to her presence a lady with whom her Majesty was so gravely offended." This disappointment aggravated the anger and intrigues of Madame de Chevreuse; and upon information which the Cardinal received, he

Principe non è buona, cominciado a procurare di mettersi alla testa del Parlamento per rendersi considerabile, e far come fece nell'altra Regenza."—Carnets de Mazarin.

soon after caused the arrest of her agent in Paris; upon whom papers were found which implicated the Duchess in a correspondence with the Archduke, governor of the Low Countries, on the military affairs of France. Paleotti, an Italian physician in the household of Madame de Chevreuse, was compromised in these missives. Anne, therefore, ordered his arrest, which was effected in the streets of Paris, where he was taken out of the coach of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, and conveyed to the Bastille. The Duchess wrote to the Queen in fury, demanding redress for the insult offered to her young daughter; who "was compelled to step from her coach, while two archers held a pistol at her throat, crying *tue! tue!*—an unheard-of outrage, Madame, for the which I expect satisfaction to be made to my said daughter, and a guarantee from your Majesty * that neither I, nor mine, shall be subjected again to such indignity!" This letter, which highly offended the Queen, Madame de Chevreuse found means to have conveyed to the Palais Royal, and placed on a table in her Majesty's oratory; for Anne had given strict directions that all communications from the banished Duchesses should be presented through her minister. The physician, Paleotti, meantime underwent an interrogatory, and made so many damaging revelations, and confessed so amply concerning the correspondences entertained by his mistress with foreign powers, that Riquetti, Mazarin's famous agent of police, was sent to Tours to request the Duchess to

* Carnets de Mazarin, iii.; Cousin, Vie de Madame de Chevreuse; Archives des Affaires Étrangères : France, t. 107.

remove to Angoulême. Madame de Chevreuse, remembering the fate of her friend, Châteauneuf, who had spent ten dreary years in the fortress of that city, shuddered as she guessed her own too probable fate. Mazarin, she knew, held in his hands avowals, and intercepted correspondence, criminal enough to sanction her committal as a prisoner of state. Any fate, any suffering, Madame de Chevreuse deemed preferable to the slow tortures of a state prison. Her daughter Charlotte fled from Paris after the arrest of Palëotti, and had joined her mother. The two, therefore, resolved upon immediate flight. In the dead of night the Duchess escaped, in disguise, from her country house, by the co-operation of a faithful servant; and, with her daughter, set out alone and on foot, penniless, but carrying bound in her girdle, her matchless diamonds, once the property of the unfortunate Maréchale d'Ancre, and the possession of which it was predicted, brought misfortune to the owner. After long wanderings, and startling perils, the fugitives reached St. Malo in Bretagne, where the Marquis de Coëtquen succoured, and gave them a temporary resting-place at his château;* and with his

* There exists a letter from the Marquis de Coëtquen to Mazarin, confessing his charity towards Madame de Chevreuse, and asking absolution. Mazarin answers: "J'ai vu par celle que vous avez pris la peine de m'écrire, l'aveu que vous me donnez du passage de Madame la Duchesse de Chevreuse dans l'une de vos maisons. Je me contenterai de vous assurer que j'ai reçu comme je dois, les preuves que vous me donnez de votre affection pour le service du roi, en cette rencontre. Je n'ai pas manqué de representer à la Reine tout ce que je devois, excusant ce que s'est passé pour les raisons que vous mandez," &c. &c.—Lettres Françoises Bibl. Mazarine, fol. 371. The celebrated jewels of Madame de Chevreuse were delivered by her order to M. de Montrésor one of her old allies, who despatched them to her at Liège by a faithful messenger. Anne being informed of the fact, caused the arrest, and imprisonment of Montrésor for eight months.

connivance, the Duchess contrived to bribe the owner of a small ship to convey her to Dartmouth. Midway across the channel, the ship was captured by an English man-of-war, and conveyed to harbour in the Isle of Wight. Recognised as a friend of Queen Henrietta Maria, Madame de Chevreuse was detained; and but for the intervention of the Earl of Pembroke, governor of the island, she would have been again put on board, and delivered over to the authorities of the nearest French port. From this danger she was rescued through her early friendship with Pembroke, and was permitted to continue her flight. She at length reached Dunkirk, half dead with terror and privation, from whence she wrote to implore the protection of the Archduke. Ferdinand caused her to be escorted to Liège, where she had craved permission to reside, as near as possible to the frontier of her beloved France.

Thus commenced the third exile of the intrepid Duchess: times were altered, however, and Madame de Chevreuse no longer regarded as the bosom friend of a great queen, and the exponent of a powerful political party, which waited but the death of one man to assume sovereign power, discovered that her *prestige*, and importance were gone. Disappointment also had soured her temper, and rendered her pensive and absent; besides, the lapse of years had marred those radiant charms which had first attracted the homage of the leading statesmen of Europe. Even her old admirer, Charles IV., Duke of Lorraine, now devoted to the charms of the lovely Beatrix de Cusance, Princesse de Cantecroix, found the correspondence of M. de Mazarin more enter-

taining and profitable; and sent languid replies to the fiery missives of the Duchess, against "*Ce Pantalon botté—ce malheureux Mazarin—à cujus furore libera me, Domine.*"

Early in the year 1645, financial agonies again beset the government. The revenue, exclusive of extraordinary aids, and the income of the royal domains, amounted to seven millions sterling, which in this day might be equivalent to nearly twenty millions. The spring again found the armies of the belligerent powers active; while the plenipotentiaries sent to treat for peace at Munster, were still occupied in preliminary overtures. D'Eméry now proposed that the treasury should be replenished by a donation or benevolence, levied upon the Notables of Paris, of eighteen millions of francs. As a sop to the Parliament, the members of which eagerly grasped at power in the management of the finances, it was further enacted, that to the High Court alone should appertain the allotment of the loan, and the regulation of the quota to be furnished by each ward, or municipal district, of the capital. The Queen sent this edict down to the High Court, accompanied by a letter couched in decided terms, in which she observed—"that the war could not be carried to a glorious termination without money, which was the sinews of war; that the costs to which the King was committed for the honour of France were excessive and extraordinary; that the outlay necessary to maintain garrisons in the conquered fortresses amounted to five millions; that his Majesty maintained three large armies in Picardy, one in Catalonia, one in Alsace, the army of the Landgrave of Hesse, and granted subsidies to the

Queen of Sweden, the cost of which for six months amounted to thirty millions of livres. That truly the first minister of the crown was to be commiserated; inasmuch as his condition was very different to that of the late Cardinal minister, who, authorised by a King in full possession of sovereign power, levied the funds which were necessary for the glory of France, without vexatious opposition or appeal."* Flattered by the direct appeal made to them to sanction a pecuniary edict of the crown, the members of the High Court registered the edict, and issued an ordinance for the distribution of Eméry's bonds; and a few days subsequently, the courts rose for the usual autumnal vacation.

Elate with this success, Mazarin during the recess proceeded to enforce his edict. Anne comforted by this timely aid, discarded for a time the cares of government for the pleasures of her queenly state. Never was Paris and the court more attractive; the Cardinal prospered, and no word as yet was whispered against his administration. The intimacy between the Queen and her minister had ceased to be commented upon. The courtiers, wearied with past disasters, were content with frivolous pleasures; or were absorbed in the graver pursuit of repairing their fortunes from the public purse, so liberally opened by Mazarin. This interval, the years 1645—1646, was the paradise of wits and poets. Scarron, Malesherbes, Voiture, Scudéry, flourished —the saloons of the famous Ninon de l'Enclos echoed with brilliant epigrams, and with blasphemous theories.

* Aubéry, Hist. du Cardinal de Mazarin, liv. ii.; Gualdo, Hist. du Ministère du Cardinal de Mazarin, vol. i.

The period, however, was not wholly reprobate—noble examples of religious zeal electrified the court, and people: from the pulpits of the capital the venerable St. Vincent de Paul preached to crowds of eager listeners; almsgiving was bounteous; and the mansions of the great were asylums for the necessitous, or places of resort where the poor, and the middle-class citizen might gain access to the ear of the rich, more than would be supposed in these days of patrician exclusiveness.

Meantime, determined opposition was evidenced against M. d'Emery's fiscal projects. The edict, though registered by the High Court, could not be executed. The Notables of Paris absolutely refused the shameless exaction; and called upon the nobles of the realm to aid the crown in its financial difficulties. "Did not the gallant nobles of Francis I. impoverish themselves to save their King during his wars with Spain. Henri-Quatre defeated his foes without mulcting his people; we will not be victimised by *l'Étrangère*, and by her Italian Macchiavel!" Anne found the much-coveted Regency a bed of thorns: re-action had set in; the commons of France oppressed by Richelieu, forbidden to aspire to the rank of territorial *noblesse*, and roused by the example of the English people and parliament, awoke to a sense of their power, and dignity. While subduing the *noblesse* of the sword, Richelieu had contented himself with repressing the prerogatives of the *noblesse* of *la robe*—the magistracy of the realm—who had risen to independent recognition in the state, by being allowed to purchase

and bequeath their offices, on condition of paying a yearly contribution to the royal exchequer, called *le droit annuel.** Forty thousand offices in the despotic realm of France, were thus in hereditary possession of subjects; who deemed them as much their own as the feudal noble possessed his castle! Security of office had rendered the magistracy of the High Court somewhat arrogant: and as the States-General had never been convoked since the unfortunate reign of Henri III., it coveted the functions of that august body—to wit, the supervision, and power of final rejection of all pecuniary edicts emanating from the crown; as well as the power to refuse the ratifications of mandates, which the High Court in its wisdom, might deem to be adverse to the general weal. These pretensions had been met by stern edicts of prohibition against all enterprises of the parliament, short of remonstrances to the sovereign. Twice in the late reign, the High Court had been severely reprimanded for undue interference in the legislative functions of the crown; while one of the last edicts fulminated during the ministry of Richelieu, clearly defined its power, and prohibited any debate in the chamber on state affairs—"topics which appertained to the King only and to his ministers;" which edict the members had been compelled to inscribe on their registers. The downfall of the feudal power of the nobility—intervening hitherto between the crown, and the parliament—brought the judicial courts more *en rapport* with the sovereign. Anne's imprudent deference to their authority in the

* Or, la Paulette—introduced in the reign of Henry IV.

troublous days succeeding the death of Louis XIII., had again aroused the ambition of the members. The example of the English parliament, the advance of free thought, the national poverty, and the ever increasing dereliction of morals in France, invited the younger counsellors to make a stand for liberty against the arbitrary power of the crown. The King was a minor, the Queen-Regent a Spaniard, the first minister an Italian, the minister of finance a Florentine renegade, though a naturalised Frenchman; the princes of the blood were absent, the great feudal nobles discontented and exiles, the faction once called Les Importants was suppressed, but not extinct—surely, every circumstance favoured the supposition that a fight for freedom supported by the aristocracy of wealth—that of *la robe*, the chiefs, and representatives of the commons—might issue in a popular triumph.

St. Martin's day being the term when the courts reassembled, the termagant members of Les Enquêtes commenced hostilities. The more sober members of the High Court had scarcely exchanged greetings, when a summons came down requiring, convocation and union of all the courts, "to reform the realm, and to confer for the better administration of the finances, and the general management of the kingdom!" Having sanctioned the late fiscal edict, the High Court summarily declined the summons. Filled with zeal and indignation the counsellors of Les Enquêtes, resolving to break their bondage, called a meeting in the Hall of St. Louis. Ninety-four members responded to the summons. Their first act was to elect a president; their choice fell on

M. de Barillon. Business was then proceeded with, and a resolution unanimously carried, to the effect that "the first president Molé should be summoned three times to deliberate, *toutes chambres assemblées*, on public affairs; upon his refusal, the second president of the High Court should be invited to sanction such deliberations; afterwards, the third president *à mortier;* failing these, the oldest member of the Court of Inquests should be asked to preside, and to put the question to the vote, should MM. de la Grande Chambre decline to perform their duty." The leadership of the High Court was about to pass into the hands of the most daring of the innovators. Mazarin was in despair; the Queen enraged, and bent upon vindicating the royal dignity. Richelieu's astuteness would have perceived a grand opening for division in the ranks of the magistracy, by this bold breach of privilege on the part of a minor court; the rebellion of the inferior chamber against *la haute chambre*, was an error likely to secure the triumph of royal influence. Anne, however, insisted that the dignity of the throne should be vindicated. An order of arrest, therefore, was issued against the presidents de Barillon, and de Gayant, and the counsellors Le Comte and Queslin. Barillon was conducted provisionally to the Bastille, and eventually to Pignerol; the counsellors were severally despatched to Montargis, and to Chateaugontier. Words can inadequately paint the sensation occasioned by these arrests. The High Court instantly assembled, penitent for the error it had committed in giving sanction to M. d'Eméry's arbitrary edict *pour la création de rentes*. The arrest of the counsellors of Les Enquêtes struck terror into the

breasts of all members. Molé promptly responding to the wishes of the majority, convoked a *séance* of all the chambers, March, 1645; and, after a short deliberation, it was resolved to march to the Palais Royal, and respectfully demand the liberation of the prisoners. The first president here interposed, stating that the Queen, he understood, was ill, and greatly concerned at the mutinous attitude of the chambers; moreover, that M. le Cardinal had been seen to leave Paris in the direction of Ruel. The members, however, were not to be diverted from their purpose; and at five o'clock P.M. the august assembly defiled through the streets of Paris—the first of its many peregrinations on foot to the Palais Royal, to attempt to subdue the indomitable will of Anne of Austria.*

The Queen was in bed, when Guitaut, captain of the guard, rushed into her ante-room aghast, to inform her that the court of Parliament in a body was approaching the palace, and to request instructions. Anne ordered Monsieur to be summoned, who on the preceding day had arrived from the Low Countries; but was informed, that with Madame, he had left the capital for his country-seat at Meudon. Anne then commanded the presence of Bailleul, under secretary of finance, who chanced to be in the palace. With the utmost coolness, she then directed Bailleul, and M. Guitaut to receive the members on their arrival. "Tell MM. de la Cour," exclaimed Anne, "that I am offended at their audacity in daring to visit me without my per-

* Mém. de Motteville, t. 1; Omer. Talon. Mém. t. 1; Registres du Parlement de Paris; Hist. du Temps.

mission, or without having first asked for audience. Command them to return to the place whence they came. I will not admit them to my presence!" Louis XIII. warned his ministers, who disparaged the Queen his wife, that if opportunity afforded she would prove herself, for weal or for woe; *une maîtresse main!* The members, discomfited by Anne's message, reluctantly retired. "The Queen," relates Madame de Motteville, "ridiculed my fright at the approach of these said 'dotards;' for I had implored her Majesty to summon the Marshal de Grammont to defend us against this invasion!"

On the 20th, the Queen sent to the chamber, intimating her willingness to grant audience on the following day to the members. At two o'clock the courts assembled, headed by Molé, and again marched in procession from the Palais de Justice, to the Palais Royal. Anne, being still indisposed, was in bed, and declined to admit the members within her chamber, in which was M. d'Orléans, the Prince de Condé, and MM. de Chavigny, and de Brienne. The first president alone approached her Majesty, and besought her to liberate the counsellors imprisoned by her order. Anne languidly replied, "that she was ill, and would delegate the Chancellor to address the assemblage." Séguier then briefly stated that the Queen could not grant the petition of the august assembly; that she had acted by the advice of M. d'Orléans, MM. de Condé, and d'Enghien. Nevertheless, if the prisoners were brought to trial, she promised that the cause should be tried not by a special commission, but by the Parliament. The Chancellor then held a private conference with Molé. He

stated that the august mother of the King was swayed by patriotic motives; that turbulent demagogues in the Chamber hurt the royal interests, while it degraded the dignity of the High Court; and as it plainly appeared that her Majesty was irritated, the most prudent course was to temporise, and to make mutual concession. M. d'Orléans, and the Prince de Condé then observed, "that the Queen, ever lenient, was in her heart disposed to overlook the audacity of the members, provided that public business was resumed, and obedience rendered to the mandates of the King.*

The courts departed from the Palais Royal, dissatisfied, and hostile. The arrest of the members of Les Enquêtes, for disobedience to the royal commands, was a precedent utterly to be disallowed, if liberty was to be preserved; and yet the members knew that they meditated the usurpation of privileges which had never been conferred on their body. The Parliament advised the sovereign; it administered justice to all classes of citizens; before its tribunal the traitor was arraigned, until the era of Richelieu, who nominated special commissioners for the purpose: but to claim power, as the representatives of the nation, with the faculty of annulling edicts issued by the privy council was a function never before arrogated. For three following months the Parliament agitated for the release of the imprisoned members; the courts of Inquests and of Requests suspended their sittings, and the sole occupation of the Great Chamber—the final court of appeal—consisted in drawing up petitions and amendments, and in audiences,

* Aubéry, Hist. du Cardinal de Mazarin, liv. iii.

and altercations with the Queen, and Mazarin. The country murmured; causes affecting individual interests remained in suspense, whilst the courts fought the battle of their colleagues.

Mazarin at length induced the Queen to liberate the two counsellors, men of no social standing; but solicitations proved powerless to gain Anne's sanction that the same grace should be bestowed on the exiled presidents. The concession, disdainfully received, more than ever renewed the hopes, and the threats of the demagogues of the assembly, inflamed by the recital of the rigour exercised towards them by the returned counsellors. Five times deputies from the High Court proceeded to the Palais Royal to remonstrate; the Queen refused to make concession, and peremptorily ordered the courts to return to their duty in administering justice to the King's subjects. Anne, to render her order more emphatic, sent a formal message on Friday, June 10th, to the chamber by the Prince de Condé, to the effect "that while the kingdom was peaceable, and the arms of the King glorious abroad, she would not permit the Parliament to defy her authority; that she commanded that causes should be again heard, and decided by the courts;* meantime, if it so pleased the members, they might, during two days in the week, debate and draw up written statements of their views, and remonstrances, which she would graciously accept, and consider." It was, nevertheless, considered expedient to make one more attempt to

* "La Reine a trouvé très mauvais qu'on eut cessé de rendre la justice."—Aubéry, liv. iii.

bend Anne's inflexible will.* Mazarin throughout this undignified squabble plays a passive part—he never addresses the members, nor does the Queen in any way refer to his judgment in her communications.

On the 5th of September, therefore, the courts, being duly authorised, assembled in the grand gallery of the Palais Royal, to make a final effort on behalf of the Presidents Barillon, and Gayant. The Queen entered, richly attired, leading the King by the hand. In her suite were Mazarin, Condé, M. d'Orleans, Chavigny, M. de Brienne, M. de Bailleul, M. d'Emery, the Chancellor Séguier, and the Duc de Guise. She was also accompanied by Madame la Princesse, by Mademoiselle, and by Madame de Motteville. Anne received graciously enough the harangue of the president Mathieu Molé—his character for sturdy honesty, and alleged devotion to the interests of the crown, ever secured for him favourable notice. Séguier then stepped forward, expecting that Anne would thank her loyal commons, and command her Chancellor to answer the address. The Queen, however, herself rose to reply. "M. le President," said she, with dignity, "I will not dissimulate my opinion of the disloyal conduct of your assembly, and which brings you to my presence. My indulgence and bienveillance, encourage you to enterprises which I cannot too strongly reprobate. For three months no functions of justice have been rendered; instead, a lawless assembly has scandalised the realm. I

* "Ils connoissaient que l'esprit de la Reine étoit ulceré, et qu'elle se persuadoit qu'on voulut disputer avec elle du point d'authorité."—Aubéry, liv. III.

trust that after receiving protest from my own lips, loyal order may be restored. If your tumultuous assemblies continue, I take God to witness I will repress them with all the power of the crown, so that posterity may be aware how deeply the Parliament has incurred the displeasure of the King, and my own!" A silence ensued: this strong expression of the Queen's sentiments, and her emphatic utterance, surprised all the persons present. Molé at length spoke: "Madame, we, nevertheless, again venture to pray you to show the same clemency to MM. de Barillon and Gayant as you have vouchsafed to their humble colleagues—or failing this, to ordain that their trial may instantly take place before the ordinary tribunal —our Chamber. Madame, consider that arbitrary proceedings enable a man's enemies to vituperate, and malign him. Public security and policy, Madame, render it inexpedient that any man should suffer imprisonment, except after mature investigation, conducted by the recognised judges of the land, who are appointed by the sovereign to execute justice, and to punish calumny." Anne coloured. "Her Majesty," interposed the Chancellor, hastily, "is well informed of the hostility of le President de Barillon. Her Majesty can promise that when he is brought to trial, she will not imitate the example of M. le Cardinal de Richelieu, by appointing a High Commission, but will cause the said president to be arraigned before his natural judges—you, MM. de la Cour!" At these words, Anne again impetuously rose from her chair, with flaming eyes—"What, Messieurs! you presume to remonstrate?—you, who have seen the greatest persons in this realm imprisoned and

exiled, without uttering a single protest! Because I have thought fit to arrest two turbulent common-councilmen, you dare to approach, as if you were about to subject me to official interrogations!" Anne paused, apparently too moved to proceed. Molé said a few words of deprecation. "Enough, M. Molé! you have heard my sentiments!" exclaimed Anne, stepping from the dais, and followed by her ladies, she quitted the saloon by a low door which communicated with her private apartments.*

M. de Mazarin meantime was busied in private colloquy with Omer Talon,† the Queen's eloquent, and energetic attorney-general. Talon had already acquired high repute for integrity, and honesty. These *tête-à-tête* interviews, of which Mazarin was always so fond, produced little result. The recipient of the honour felt that the insinuating civility offered to him was rather the clever cunning of the adventurer, than a process of wise conciliation on the part of the able minister. People feared Mazarin's dexterity, and his influence over the Queen; but never, during the regency, did he command national respect. His Italian accent often rendered his sugared speeches ridiculous; while his sprightly jests, at most inopportune moments, stirred up much irritation. M. Talon therefore, joined his colleagues little propitiated by Mazarin's explanations.

The day but one following (September 7th), the Queen sent word to the Chamber, that as M. d'Emery's edict *pour la création de rentes*, had been the source

* Aubéry. Hist. du Cardinal de Mazarin.

† Régistres du Parlement de Paris.

of discord and sedition, the King would go down to the Parliament, and command the registration of the decree, by the exercise of his absolute authority. The young King, therefore, accompanied by the Regent, Mazarin, and the princes of the blood, went in state to the Palais, and held a court, or Lit de Justice, with little pomp; when, after a speech from the Chancellor, the obnoxious decree was registered, by the express command of the King, and inserted in the Parliamentary registers.*

Funds to cover the current expenses of the war for the year 1645 were thus obtained. The country murmured, however, that a prerogative of the crown so questionable and arbitrary, should have been put in force during the minority. The theory, upon which the Kings of France had been invested with authority so despotic was, that the anointed monarch, after prayer, mature consideration, and duly weighing the remonstrances of the Parliament, had, by some wisdom inherent to the kingly power, descried causes and reasons, why any edict in dispute, ought to be enforced for the good of his people—a supposition, which could not by any sophistry be applied to the mental processes of the child-King.

The letters, and notes of Mazarin meantime, abound with plaints, and denunciations, of his unhappy position in France; harassed by a great war, the hostility of the people and Parliament of Paris, and the uncertainty of the Queen's temper. At this period, Mazarin was never certain that the next hour might not find him deposed

* Aubéry. Omer Talon. De Retz. La Rochefoucauld.

from his power by the caprice of Anne of Austria, and a fugitive on his way to Rome. His unlimited power over the policy of the Queen commenced only when the princes of the blood united to oppose her will: at this time Anne had resources away from her minister, in the friendship of the Duc d'Orleans, and the Condé family. Mazarin, nevertheless, commenced the decoration of his new-abode in the Palais Royal. Pictures, statues, and cabinets of exquisite workmanship, arrived from Rome. His refined taste charmed the Queen, to whom he offered each choice consignment as it arrived. The decorations of the Palais Royal were placed under his superintendence—workmen, painters, and carvers from Italy obeyed Mazarin's summons, and adorned the royal abode. Few traces now remain of Anne's private apartments at the Palais Royal, excepting the magnificent gallery which connected her apartments with the *corps de logis* assigned to Mazarin, and in which the council always assembled. Anne's reception-room communicated with her bed-chamber; a door opening from this saloon conducted to a smaller apartment hung with grey satin, which communicated with her oratory. This, *la petite chambre grise*, acquired notoriety in the coming troubles; for there the Queen gave secret audiences, and retired to indulge the bitterness of her grief, and resentments. Beyond the Queen's bed-chamber a magnificent bath-room, and ante-chamber existed, which opened upon tortuous corridors, beset with staircases convenient for the access of personages honoured by private interviews with Anne. In the midst of the fierce disputes for the levy of finance, Mazarin imprudently purchased the

splendid hôtel situated at the corner of the Rue des Petits Champs, and then separated from the Palais Royal by the garden of the palace. This mansion, built by Mansard for the wealthy president Tubœuf, presently expanded into the gorgeous Palais Mazarin, with its seven courts and vast gardens, which occupied the entire space now lying between the Rues Petits Champs, Richelieu, and Vivienne, extending from thence to the present Rue Colbert. To the architect Mansard, and the painter Simon Vouet, the Cardinal intrusted the construction, and adornment of his palace. He offered to Bernini, the celebrated Roman painter and architect, an annual pension of 12,000 crowns, provided he would settle in France and superintend his works, and those undertaken by the crown—so far was his Eminence from anticipating the terrible events impending. The new Pope, Innocent X., who had been elected despite the veto of France, was not, however, disposed to grant Bernini a licence, which must have arrested the progress of the works in St. Peter's; where the grand *baldacchino* of the high altar, was then in process of being erected.

In November of the year 1645, the marriage of the Princess Marie de Gonzague Nevers, daughter of the Duke of Mantua, with Uladislas IV., King of Poland, was celebrated.* The arrival of the Polish ambassadors, and their entry into Paris, was one of the most splendid

* The author has in hand a history of this celebrated Princess, and of her no less renowned sister, Anne de Gonzague, Princess Palatine. The inedited documents and letters, collected by the author, from the French, and other foreign Archives, fill a large portfolio.

and curious pageants of the century. Anne declared the beautiful bride to be a daughter of France; and presented her with a marriage portion despite of the national poverty. Madame de Montbazon was permitted by the Queen to return to Paris, to adorn the magnificent fêtes given on the occasion. The marriage of the rich heiress, Mademoiselle de Rohan, with Henri de Chabot, Baron de St. Aulaire, was likewise celebrated at this time. The mother of the bride, Marguerite de Rohan, the fierce daughter of the great Duc de Sully, in vain protested against a union so unequal as that between the proud heiress of the elder branch of Rohan, and a cadet of Jarnac—a princess, whose alliance had been asked by the Grand Duke of Saxe Weimar, by the Count de Soissons, and by Prince Rupert, son of the Elector Palatine, and of Elizabeth Stuart. These illustrious alliances had, however, fallen through; and Mademoiselle de Rohan, at the age of twenty-eight, resolved to please herself, and to gratify her passion for the handsome young cavalier, M. de Chabot. The Duc d'Enghien, during a brief visit to Paris, interested himself for Chabot, and obtained for him the brevet rank of a duke, from the Queen. The marriage was privately celebrated in defiance of the commands of the Duchesse de Rohan: the affair created intense excitement, "*et entretint toute la terre durant l'hiver*," writes Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

The campaign of 1645 placed the glory of the French arms on a pinnacle of fame. The hero d'Enghien had carried the victorious *oriflamme* over the plains of Swabia, to the banks of the Danube, under the very

walls of Donnauwerth. Turenne, skilled and cautious general as he was, had suffered himself to be surprised by the Count de Mercy at Mariendal, and had to deplore the loss of half his army. D'Enghien flew to retrieve the national honour, and joined the Marshal de Turenne at Spires. Soon the great battle of Nordlingen * avenged Turenne's ignominious defeat. The fight at Nordlingen is one of the most hotly contested on the pages of history—a general of ability inferior to that of the great Condé, must have succumbed. The young hero performed prodigies of valour; two horses were killed under him, and three were disabled: and he received a pistol-shot in the elbow, and a sabre-wound in the thigh. The cost of this famous day to France, was four thousand soldiers. The enemy lost six thousand men, the greater portion of its artillery, and forty standards. The greatest calamity which befel the enemy was the death of the gallant, and brave de Mercy, who was slain on a field, which he had yielded only to the genius and irrepressible energy of a general, whom the common soldiers revered as more than mortal. Well might the Queen, imbued with sentiments so despotic, take courage to persist in the arrest of Barillon, and in defying the remonstrances of the Parliament. Anne, on the 8th of August, 1645, was walking in the garden of the palace, meditating on the glorious news of the victory, when Mazarin approached to impart some details of the conflict. Anne received her minister with exclamations of joy. "Madame, should we not rather mourn than rejoice,

* Fought August 3rd, 1645.

considering the men of valour, and of worth who have given their lives to purchase this victory?" His Eminence, after this little reprimand, then read to the Queen the list of the dead: he also imparted serious news — not less, than the conqueror of Nordlingen, after escaping the perils of the battle, had fallen ill of brain fever from excitement, and fatigue. He had been conveyed from the camp at Heilbronn, in a state of insensibility lying in a litter, escorted by a thousand men under the command of the Marshal de Grammont, to Philipsbourg, his capture of the preceding year. The life of the young prince hung in suspense for several days. Anne sent the royal physicians to Philipsbourg; and the duke was at length pronounced convalescent, but so weakened that a long period of rest was necessary to restore his shattered health. The danger of the duke seems to have given rise to speculations in the Queen's mind. Anne had strong presentiments respecting M. d'Enghien. Hereafter she had reflected, the brave, and eccentric prince might not pay that deference to the royal authority, which even the highest court in the realm had found courage to defy. Madame de Motteville, one evening, was in attendance on her Majesty, who after speaking approvingly of M. d'Enghien, added, "Providence, who has saved the life of M. d'Enghien, will doubtless also preserve me, should he ever rise against me. Such a trial would be severe—but probably salutary." Perhaps a lingering regret now and then lurked in Anne's mind, that peace had not been concluded at the commencement of her Regency, in

accordance with the counsel of her old friends, the Duc de Beaufort, Madame de Chevreuse, and M. de Beauvais. The victories of M. d'Enghien, and his power over the armies of France, rendered him a dangerous subject during a regency. The French people, as Madame de Chevreuse had stated, hated the war; they had no sympathy with the heretic allies of the crown; and were persuaded that Mazarin prevented the conclusion of peace for his own selfish interests. But rather than restore the power wrested from the feudal houses of the realm by the strong rule of Richelieu, or diminish one of the prerogatives of the crown, Anne had renounced her brother the Catholic King, and her old friends: and she was then nerving herself to make equal sacrifice, strenuously to defend the throne against the assaults of the Parliament.

During the winter months of 1645 council was diligently holden to prepare another scheme of finance likely to be acceptable to the chamber. Yearly, extraordinary taxation was obliged to be resorted to, in order to defray the costs of the war. D'Eméry diligently rummaged again in the pages of the old statute-books of the realm, to discover another obsolete tax, which, revived, might not press heavily on any class, and that might become a permanent impost.* The extension of

* "D'Eméry, surintendant des finances, avait a mon sens, l'esprit le plus corrompu de son siècle. Il ne cherchait que des noms pour trouver des édits. Je ne puis vous exprimer le fond de l'âme du personnage, qui disait en plein conseil (je l'ai oûi) que la foi n'était que pour les marchands! Cet homme qui avait été condamné à Lyons dans sa jeunesse à être pendu, gouvernait le Cardinal Mazarin en tout ce que regardait le dedans du royaume."—De Retz, Mém. p. 137.

la taille, or land tax, to the nobles and clergy hitherto exempt from this burden, might perhaps have been acceptable to the commons; but neither Mazarin, nor d'Emery dare propose the innovation, deterred, perhaps, by the threatening attitude of many of the Queen's lieutenants over provinces. M. d'Emery was a man of resource, and of mind enterprising enough to deviate from the old path of finance. He, therefore, after mature consideration, proposed that a tariff, or *octroi*, should be levied on all provisions, and commodities brought into the city of Paris—a tax which it was proposed gradually to extend to all the principal cities of the realm. As money was indispensable, the project was enlightened and fair; and but for the lamentable spirit of sedition rife in the capital, might have rescued the country from years of anarchy. The edict was favourably received by the Queen and council; and sent to the Cour des Aides for registration, as a *droit d'aides*, which was immediately accomplished. The tax thenceforth was levied, amid much opposition from the inhabitants of the capital, but with a very sensible, and happy result for the treasury. For a whole year however the High Court, grievously offended at the independent act of its inferior chamber, clamoured, and maintained the right of all the courts to have discussed, and passed this edict. The ignorant obstinacy displayed, in destroying the *prestige* of the crown, is scarcely credible. Peace, and the cessation of extraordinary taxation, was in reality clamoured for. The Queen's minister, hoping to conciliate animosities, invited the first president de Molé, and his colleagues,

the presidents from all the courts, to a conference in the Palais Royal. The debate was long and animated, and chiefly concerned the right of the united Parliament to register a pecuniary edict: therefore, as that process had not been fulfilled in the matter of the tariff, MM. de la Cour contended that the edict was illegal, and must be annulled. Mazarin replied in an able speech, temperate, but shifty: unfortunately he offended the assembled magistrates by expressing his surprise that their august body should lose time in the discussion of such *bagatelles!* Mazarin concluded by putting the pertinent question—what were the taxes the Parliament recommended, and would support? as her Majesty had no especial bias for any method, and would gladly content the King's subjects. This was a difficult question, and was as such, evaded. Two other conferences were vouchsafed to the counsellors: a second at the Palais Royal, the third at the Luxembourg, at which Monsieur presided, being the first time since the commencement of the Regency, that he took any prominent part in affairs of state. The Queen treated the Parliament with the greatest *insouciance*, and even insolence.* The Chamber greatly desired, and humbly requested to be honoured by her presence at one of their conferences. Anne complied so far as to appear at the first conference for a few seconds, when she took leave under protest of visiting her young son the Duc

* "Ce canaille! ces badauds! ce petit peuple! ces drôles de la robe!" were expletives frequently heard on the lips of the Queen. It was likewise observed, that a flush of anger passed over the fair boyish features of Louis XIV. whenever the Parliament was mentioned in his presence.

d'Anjou, who had fallen sick of fever. Molé, in his private interviews with Mazarin, counselled him to prevail upon the Queen to attend the conference, fixed to be holden in the Luxembourg; as her Majesty, being a foreigner, and having been little accustomed to politics during the life of the late King, might be enlightened by hearing the harangues of the veteran magistrates of the realm. Anne, however, absolutely declined to be present. At the conference, M. de Bailleul courteously stated, that her Majesty being much indisposed could not profit by the erudite debate about to ensue; when M. de Condé rose, and hurriedly said that he was especially ordered to say, that the Queen, though perfectly well, declined to communicate personally with the Parliament, believing that she showed her esteem for MM. de la Cour sufficiently, by authorising a conference between them, her ministers, and the princes of the blood.* In such fashion did Queen Anne defy the veteran counsellors of the crown.

In the midst of these broils, the enemies of France continued to fall beneath the valorous sword of d'Enghien. Monsieur had again asked the command in chief of the armies of France in the Low Countries, during the campaign of 1646, and had obtained his wish. D'Enghien generously offered to serve in the army commanded by Monsieur. Town after town presently capitulated, to the high delight of the duke, who believed himself to

* "La reine ne voulait pas que l'on crut qu'elle fut malade; mais qu'elle n'avait pas voulu se trouver à cette conference, ni communiquer par elle-même avec le Parlement: et que ce leur etait assez d'honneur d'en conférer avec M. le Duc d'Orleans, et MM. les premièrs ministres de l'état."—Note d'Omer Talon, ann. 1647.

be a second Alexander; and actually, had the vanity to sign several letters, addressed to his intimate friends with the surname of Poliorcetes or the Besieger, the *soubriquet* of that hero of antiquity, King Demetrius. The French passed the river Colme, and took the towns of Lens, Bambourg, Merville, Béthune, Courtray, d'Armentières, Landrécy, and Furnes. M. d'Enghien completed the glorious galaxy by the capture of Dunkirk—that stronghold, so coveted by France, and yet so formidable to conquer. In Italy, the King's arms triumphed; but at the siege of Orbitello* the young Duc de Brézé was killed by a cannon-ball, while bombarding the town, which was being attacked by land at the same time by Prince Thomas of Savoy.

The premature death of the Duc de Brézé, high admiral of France, and brother of the young Duchess d'Enghien, was the cause of another deplorable wrangle, which greatly affected the health and temper of Queen Anne. M. d'Enghien, as soon as he heard of the death of the duke, wrote to the Queen demanding as a right, the high charges of his brother-in-law—that of admiral in chief, and governor of Brouage and the adjacent islets. Condé and his wife, earnestly supported their son's demand: "Madame! the hero, the saviour of France, the hope and support of our royal house, on whom can these great, and important charges be more worthily bestowed?" asked Madame de Condé, pompously. Anne, however, wisely resolved not to add additional power to that already possessed by the

* Fought June 4th, 1646. The Duc de Brézé was Armand de Maillé, whose mother was Nicole, sister of the Cardinal de Richelieu.

duke. By the advice of Mazarin she therefore, herself, assumed the vacant offices; adding them to that of governor of Bretagne, which the importunity of the Duc de Vendôme, at the commencement of the regency, had compelled her to assume. The fury of the Prince de Condé surpassed all bounds; he threatened M. de Mazarin with exile, declined to be present at council, and took ceremonious farewell, preparatory to retiring from court to his government of Burgundy. Madame de Condé, though "she coveted all the crowns of the universe to heap them on the head of her heroic son," prudently remained in Paris; but in so disagreeable and snappish a humour, that people fled from her presence. Madame de Longueville also demonstrated much resentment; and lashed the Cardinal so keenly with her tongue, that she never recovered the good graces of his Eminence. In the Carnets de Mazarin of this year, the following entry occurs concerning the duchess—a sketch of her character which, though harsh in its conclusions, was not altogether false:—"Madame de Longueville possesses great power over her brothers. She pretends to despise the court; to hate favouritism; and to ridicule everybody who does not fall at her feet. She wishes to see her brother pre-eminent, and to dispose of every grace. She is a lady of great dissimulation, and receives the deference paid to her with the utmost haughtiness, as if due to her charms; she is cold in her manners, she loves gallantry, but rather to gain adherents, than to do evil." Whilst M. le Prince was making preparations to leave Paris, he observed one day in a menacing manner to Le Tellier,

" that as for himself he was resigned to ingratitude, and should never make war on the King for any pretext; but he could not answer for the future conduct of his son, who was slighted, and neglected by the Queen." Anne, ever prompt, on being informed of this *boutade*, and being moreover disturbed at the receipt of a pressing letter from Monsieur, entreating her to grant to M. d'Enghien the charge he solicited, wrote to M. de Condé to the effect, " that she did not believe that M. d'Enghien would ever forget his duty: nevertheless, should it so occur, it would be more expedient for M. le Duc to declare himself before he attained to the dignities he seemed to covet. The Queen, moreover, would not suffer the prince to remain in Paris, nor to possess in repose his great wealth and offices, should it happen that M. his son thought proper to disturb the peace of the realm."* The Duc d'Enghien, better advised, wrote, though with covert irony, to thank the Queen " for her goodness in holding the office of high admiral for him; as he doubted not that it was her intention to relinquish it at the conclusion of the campaign, when he should have better merited her royal favour."

Many indications inducing the Queen to suppose that Condé and his son contemplated a political alliance with the Duc d'Orleans, they undertaking to support each other in their demands on the government, Anne wrote to Monsieur, requesting him to return, and aid her by his counsels. At the same time she despatched M. de Comminges to M. d'Enghien with a warrant,

* Mém. d'Omer Talon, t. 11, ann. 1646.

which conferred upon the young hero the proud title of Commander in chief of all the armies of France. D'Enghien thanked the Queen with ardour, and appeared to forget his disappointment relative "to the succession of M. de Brézé."

The young Louis Quatorze had now completed his eighth year (September 5th, 1646); it was therefore necessary that he should be placed under the care of tutors. Madame de Senécé had admirably fulfilled her duties, so far as her knowledge as *une grande dame*, went. Her pupil could dance to admiration; his boyish carriage was the perfection of grace; he could salute the court and the people, and stoop to kiss his mother's fair hand with exquisite ease, and elegance. He recited little poems with precise accent and manner; his taste for dress, and for flirtation already excited much amusement and wonder; while the way in which he put his juvenile regiment through its drill, and gave the word of command, caused tears of admiration to rise in the eyes of the veteran officers about the court. The ladies idolized the beautiful boy-king; his little compliments were treasured; and locks of his bright auburn hair, presented by himself, were enshrined under precious jewels, and worn next to the heart of many a fair damsel. Louis from his earliest age is reported never to have forgotten that he was a king; and never allowed of caressing familiarities as a child, but gravely stretched out his hand to be kissed. When taken from the care of Madame de Senécé, however, Louis could read only passably, and managed very badly with his pen; while his spelling

was even more neglected. The Queen addressed an admirable letter* to the High Court, and to the other Companies, in which she informed the King's loving subjects, that she had appointed the Cardinal Mazarin as superintendent of King Louis's education, and governor of his person: "the said Cardinal, in his devotion to this crown, being willing to add that labour to those which he daily endures for the weal of this realm. I believe that this appointment is sanctioned, and even indicated by the honour which the late King my lord, thought fit to confer on the said Cardinal, by choosing him to be godfather to the King my son. The opinion that every one entertains of the capacity of my said cousin, and the daily experience that I have of his zeal for the kingdom, convince me that my son can imbibe from him only the knowledge, and the wisdom that make princes great; and which will render the said King so accomplished, and mighty in the art of reigning, that his subjects would elect him for their King even had not God in His grace caused him to be born especially for France." The Queen then nominates the Marquis de Villeroy as under-governor of the King. The royal household was remodelled, Louis being from thenceforth, surrounded by every imaginable state and splendour; and condemned to undergo the daily rehearsal of the ceremonial, afterwards so minutely developed at the court of Versailles. "The Queen," says Madame de Motteville, "believing that the Cardinal de Mazarin was the most learned, and able man of Europe, resolved to

* Aubéry—Hist. du Cardinal de Mazarin, t. 1, liv. III.—Motteville Mém., t. 1.

intrust to him the education of the King." The King's sub-preceptor was the Abbé de Beaumont, who immediately put his Majesty through a course of Latin, selecting the Commentaries of Cæsar as his first class-book.

The year 1646 had been on the whole a sad one for Anne of Austria. During its course she lost her only sister, the Empress Marie Anne, the fair Infanta of King Charles I.'s romantic pilgrimage to Spain, who died of apoplexy during the month of May, while *enceinte*, at Vienna. Her nephew also, the Prince of the Asturias, died, a young prince of great promise. In his affliction, Philip IV. yearned towards his once beloved sister, with whom he had ceased to correspond; and he wrote to her such pathetic letters on his loss, and her alienation, that Anne retired to the Val de Grace to weep, and pray in her old oratory. "Madame, and sister mine," wrote Don Philip, "I cannot believe that you have forgotten the walls within which you were born; let us therefore, while we fight battles like kings, correspond and love each other like brother and sister!"

Anne passed the autumn months at Fontainebleau in tolerable quietude, and returned to Paris on the 9th of November. The Chamber had reassembled after its vacation, and was battling, on points of privilege connected with *le tarif*, which tax was working most satisfactorily. The principal objections to this impost were twofold, as set forth by Molé: 1st, That the Cour des Aides had alone sanctioned a tax intended to be general throughout the realm: 2ndly, That the tax being imposed on an extraordinary emergency, no provision had

been made to relieve the people of the burden on the termination of the war. The agitation in the Chamber became so formidable, that the privy council, perceiving that the Parliament was about to interdict the levy of the *octroi*, as subversive of public prosperity, and custom, suppressed the obnoxious tax; and returning, to *les anciennes voyes*, M. d'Emery prepared various decrees for the levy of finances, to cover the anticipated deficit in the treasury for the years 1647-8.

News of the reverses in Catalonia, the raising of the siege of Lerida, and the prospect of some popular commotion, brought Condé back to Paris from his retreat in Burgundy. The westerly winds, and the long journey, however, told on the constitution of the Prince. On his arrival at Chantilly, he took to his bed, suffering from fever, and acute rheumatism. The Prince rapidly grew worse, and expired on St. Stephen's day, December 26, 1646. Madame de Motteville gives a most uninviting description of a royal prince, the husband of the greatest beauty of the day. "He was dirty and mean-looking; his eyes were swoln and red; his beard was badly trimmed, and his hair greasy and long, and generally tucked behind his ears; so that M. le Prince was by no means a person agreeable to gaze upon." M. de Condé died rich in wealth, honours, and governments. On attaining his majority under Henri Quatre, his income scarcely exceeded £500 a year, so disastrous had been the effects of the long civil wars on the patrimony of the junior princes of Bourbon. The Prince bequeathed to his son an annual revenue of more than £40,000 sterling, in addition to the governments of Burgundy

and Berry, and the grand mastership of the royal household. His wife, to whom he had been a harsh and unloving husband, made little lamentation for her loss. Madame de Rambouillet observed, that Madame la Princesse had enjoyed only two perfectly happy days in her life—the day when Condé by espousing her, raised her to the rank of a princess of the blood; and the day whereon she became a widow! Obstinate and peculiar as M. de Condé was in mind and temper, his influence kept the balance of power in the state. Trained under the eye of Henri Quatre, and having passed his maturer years under the stern *surveillance* of Richelieu, he was docile to the mandates of the crown. Evil days were at hand for Queen Anne, and her minister. Evil was the hour when they were beset by a prince, who, like the new Prince de Condé, believed in his own prowess, and had in fact proved himself to be irresistible in war; who was proud moreover, passionate, wild, and ambitious; and by a colleague of the temperament of M. d'Orleans—restless, covetous, and the dupe of every plausible sycophant whom he encountered!

The death of the Prince de Condé diminished not the magnificence of the Christmas festivities of the court. Perhaps this interval, and the first months of the year 1647, form the most joyous interlude of Anne's regency. The only discontented personage in the Palais Royal was probably the Count d'Harcourt, who had returned to Paris to explain the causes of the failure of the campaign in Spain. Anne received him severely, and blamed him for his imprudent blockade of Lerida. M. d'Harcourt, with much address, defended himself from the

charge of want of zeal for the royal service; and entreated her Majesty to suspend her judgment, until he had discussed the matter with M. le Cardinal, who was able in military matters, as he was in diplomacy! The Queen smiled her pleasant smile, and promised to accept Mazarin's opinion. During the carnival of 1647, Mazarin gave a splendid fête to his royal patroness—an operetta, sung by Italian artists, the first representation of the kind seen in France, and for which his Eminence hired 300 artists from Rome. The immense cost of this fête* scandalised the people. Accordingly, in the next "remonstrance" of the Chamber, allusion was pointedly made "to the prodigious and sinful extravagance of certain persons high in her Majesty's confidence." The day following a ball was given by Mazarin to the court. Mademoiselle appeared at it in great brilliancy, adorned, much to her satisfaction, with the most splendid of Anne's jewels. The young King wore a black satin suit embroidered with gold; while Anne appeared in a robe of black velvet, studded with rubies, and wearing the celebrated triple chain of pearls, of immense size and value, the gift of her father, of which Louis XIV. took possession some twenty years subsequently, and placed amongst the crown jewels. A second representation of the opera took place on the evening of Shrove Tuesday; after which Mazarin entertained the Queen's maids, and other ladies of the court, at a banquet, in which they

* The cost of this entertainment was 500,000 crowns. "Cette comédie en musique fit faire beaucoup de reflexions à tout le monde, mais particulièrement à ceux des compagnies souveraines, qu'on tourmentait."—Mém. de Guy Joli, p. 11.

were regaled, for the first time in their lives, with iced creams, and other rarities of the confectioner's art.

Anne kept the Lent of 1647 with peculiar devotion. On Holy Thursday she retired to the Val de Grâce, to be ready to share in the solemn services of the following day. On Good Friday, she was dressed by five o'clock, and ready to enter chapel with the community, where she remained until after three in the afternoon, on her knees before the crucifix on the high altar. The young King, with Mazarin, attended the service called Ténébres, which was finely sung, and to which the public were admitted. Anne ended the day by visiting a poor nun in the infirmary attached to the convent, who was dying of malignant cancer. With her own hands the Queen dressed the frightful wound; then kneeling, she prayed by the bedside of the sufferer. Years afterwards, the remembrance of this one act of charity must have been a balm of consolation to Anne, during the exquisite torment of her own latter days.

The Queen, at the expiration of Lent, determined to leave Paris with the King, for a short tour in Normandy, to visit the Flemish camp, and receive the homage of the Parliament of Rouen, which had petitioned the crown for the redress of certain small grievances. Anne showed much sagacity in anticipating the arrival in Paris of the deputies from the Norman Parliament, whose grievances might have been exaggerated by the sympathy of their malcontent brethren, MM. of Paris. This journey, which lasted about two months, and included a brief visit to the towns of Amiens, Abbeville, Dieppe,

and Rouen, has been ostentatiously termed "the first campaign of Louis Quatorze."

In September, 1647, an event happenend which occasioned much pleasant gossip, and excitement. Mazarin had always declared himself totally disinterested in his love for France; and spoke of his relatives with disparaging neglect. "The only kindred I desire to see from Italy are my statues!" the Cardinal had exclaimed to M. de Condé. "I desire nothing for myself, nor for mine; all my relatives reside in Italy, far away,—from henceforth, I adopt all the faithful servants of the Queen for my kinsmen!" said Mazarin, to the Duc de la Rochefoucault. Astonishment was great, therefore, when it was suddenly announced that three nieces, and a nephew of his Eminence were on their way to Paris. The Nieces of M. de Mazarin!—the world dreamt not then that the fame of these heroines would resound throughout Christendom, humble as they then appeared. The cause which induced Mazarin at this particular juncture to send for his nieces was never ascertained. The Queen said to every one, that it was at her command; and that she would not suffer his Eminence to abandon kindred, as well as country. Mazarin's father had no children by his nobly born second wife. His youngest sister, Madame Mancini, had six children; while Madame Martinozzi had two daughters, both richly portioned. Mazarin, therefore, at this period, undertook the charge, and education of two of his nieces de Mancini, and of their elder brother; from Madame Martinozzi he asked for the guardianship of her eldest daughter.* A proposal so

* Only these three nieces of Mazarin were in France during the troubles, and

advantageous was warmly accepted; and the Queen sent the Count de Nogent to conduct the young ladies from Rome, while the Duchess de Noailles was requested to meet them at Fontainebleau. They arrived in Paris on the 11th of September, 1647, and were immediately conducted to the Queen, who received them with affectionate *empressement*. Mazarin was sitting with her Majesty when his nieces were announced, ushered by Madame de Noailles. He immediately rose, and without showing the slightest curiosity, or even glancing at the children, left the royal closet. "The Queen," says Madame de Motteville, "thought the children very pretty, and made many remarks on their appearance. Madame de Senécé offered to go and see them on the following morning (at the new mansion of the Cardinal); but she was given to understand that the Cardinal desired that no honours, or extraordinary attention should be paid to his nieces, as people passing to and from his private abode would disturb his hours of repose." After their interview with Queen Anne, the children went to visit their uncle; who received them from the hands of M. de Nogent with expressions of satisfaction, and delight.

The next day the expectant courtiers were gratified by the sight of *les nièces*, when the Queen held her afternoon court. The poor children, frightened and embarrassed by the notice they attracted, and by the splendid crowd, stood shivering together behind the Queen's chair. They were stared at as prodigies; their features,

they are alone alluded to in the lampoons and satires in verse, published during the Fronde. It is generally stated that Mazarin's six nieces arrived together in Paris, which is an error.

their deportment, their eyes, called forth numberless comments; and the Cardinal was congratulated on their grace, and beauty. Some discerned, they said, character on their brows; others, wit in their eyes, and future majesty in their deportment. The elder of the girls, Laura Victoria Mancini, was thirteen years old—a bright sparkling brunette, with wonderfully expressive features; and an air of great sensibility. Her manners were timid, and her voice sweet and low. The second of the Cardinal's nieces was named Olympia: she was a girl of nine—awkward, tiny in stature, with large shining eyes, a dingy complexion, pointed chin, and magnificent black hair, which, according to the fashion of the time, enveloped her figure like a mantle. Shy and diffident, this little elf attracted much notice.* Marie Anne Martinozzi, the daughter of the Cardinal's elder sister, was introduced as having more pretensions to the august sphere in which she suddenly found herself. She bore the title of La Contessa Mariana; and had been the betrothed bride of Don Carlo Barbarino, Prince of Palestrina,† who, on the accession of Pope Innocent X., renounced his title, estates, and promised wife, for a cardinal's hat. Mademoiselle de Martinozzi was a lovely girl of twelve—fair, eyes blue as turquoise, her hair gold colour in hue, and so abundant that in after

* One of the rhymers in the pay of the Fronde, thus apostrophizes the little Olympia Mancini:—

"Elle a les yeux d'un hibou,
L'ecorce blanche comme un chou,
Les sourcils d'une âme damné!
Et le teint d'une cheminée!"

† Hist. du Cardinal de Mazarin, par le Comte Galleazzo Gualdo Priorato, t. 1, p. 46.

years she was distinguished by the *soubriquet*—"*la merveille aux cheveux blonds.*" The Cardinal's nephew, Giulio Mancini, was a pretty dark-haired boy of ten; but whose premature death caused all the great dignities in reserve for him, to fall to his younger brother Philip, who was born in the same year as Louis Quatorze. The Abbé de la Rivière, favourite of M. d'Orleans, and Madame de Motteville, were conversing together apart from the curious throng, on the day when *les nièces* first appeared at court. Monsieur presently joined them, saying in his chaffing manner, "Ah! the life of those poor little girls is in danger! people will stare at them until they swallow them up!" Oh no, Monseigneur," replied M. de Villeroy; "we shall still have the felicity to look at these pretty little damsels, who are not now rich, but soon will be endowed with fine castles, large revenues, splendid jewels, superb plate, and probably will become grandees! That boy, however, has to become a man, and his luck may be more doubtful." So prophesied the sage mentor of Louis XIV. Shortly after the arrival of these young ladies, Madame de Senécé, late governess to the King, accepted, with the brevet rank of a duchess, the office of governess to the three "Mazarinettes," the name by which the Cardinal's nieces were soon nicknamed by the audacious Parisians.

In the month of November a cruel trial befell the Queen. On the 14th the King sickened of small-pox. The physicians bled his Majesty four times in twenty-four hours, which so increased the unfavourable symptoms that his death was hourly anticipated.

Anne's maternal agony was intense—Louis was her idolised son; and on her knees by his bed ministering to his wants, she passed several nights, and was carried at length exhausted from the room. When the malady declined, Anne had her bed placed in a little chamber opening from her son's apartment; "but there was not much rest for her Majesty, who passed the night in watching the King, or in receiving messages from his nurses and physicians." The crisis of the malady passed, Louis made rapid progress towards recovery. Every whim of the royal boy was promptly complied with. One day he was seized with a longing to see a beautiful white English pony, which had been presented to him on his birthday by Cardinal Mazarin. The pony was sent for, and led to the bedside by Mazarin himself, to the delight of the King, who laughed joyously as he caressed his favourite. The complexion of the King was marred by the ravages of small-pox. "The features of the once charming face thickened," writes a chronicler. "Our King, however, merely exchanged the aspect of one divinity for that of another. A Cupid once, henceforth he moved and looked with the stately majesty of the god Mars!"

M. d'Emery, meantime, prepared his new finance edicts, which, being ratified by the Queen, waited registration from the parliament to pass into law. In the present temper of the assembly it was hopeless to expect unanimity. After much anxious deliberation, the Queen and Mazarin, resolved to take the Chamber by storm, and suppress all cavil by the ceremony of a Lit de Justice; during which the King, by the legal exercise of

his prerogative, might command the registration of the edict. On the first day of the new year, Mazarin sent for Omer Talon, to inform him of the Queen's intention. A few days later he again summoned the attorney-general to explain the nature of the edicts, and to confer on the matter. Talon informed the Cardinal that the Companies were in a ferment upon the question of la Paulette, or *le droit annuel*—a right * which had just lapsed, while the government had made no overtures to renew the privilege. Mazarin replied, that when the King's affairs had been settled it would be time enough to gratify the chamber. Anne also commanded the presence of Talon, who as attorney-general had much influence. She gave him gracious reception, and condescended to assure him that "the edicts were lenient, just, and equitable; and that she expected that on the morrow he would publicly thank the King for his loving foresight." Talon replied, "that a visit from the King to his chamber to enforce an edict, was always a serious and deplorable affair; that he was compelled to acquit himself conscientiously of his duty—which he trusted to do, and yet not to displease the Queen."

Notice of the intended visit of their majesties was sent down to the chamber only the night before the ceremony: the ushers of the court were consequently, employed throughout the night of the 14th of January in leaving summonses at the houses of the counsellors, to insure a full attendance of members. The following morning, January 15th, 1648, their majesties set forth

* This privilege was renewed by the King every nine years. The term had expired January 1st, 1648.

towards the Palais in pompous equipage. They were attended by the Duke of Orleans, the Prince de Conty, the Dukes d'Elbœuf, de Ventadour, de Brissac, de St. Simon, the Marshal de la Meilleraye, and others. Cardinal Mazarin accompanied the King, and in the chamber took his seat on the left hand of the throne, sitting alone in state. Acclamations resounded at the sight of the child-King. Anne looked grave and weary; she was regally attired, and wore the diamonds bequeathed to the crown by the late Cardinal de Richelieu. Séguier opened the proceedings by a long statement of the condition of affairs, foreign and domestic. The first president Molé then expressed briefly the loyal zeal of parliament for the honour of the crown. The new edicts were then read amid silence the most profound. Omer Talon then pronounced an harangue, telling in its exposure of the national misery, though diffuse, and needlessly erudite. Among other hard truths, Talon said,—"Sire, know that it is a myth, a delusion in idea, and a contradiction in politics, to assert that edicts, which are not laws until after the mature deliberation thereupon, and the assent given of the sovereign chamber, can be held to be verified as laws, after your Majesty has caused them only to be read, and published in your presence. Sire, you are our sovereign lord; but there is a great difference between the code of the kingdom of the Medes and Persians, and that of France. Sire, for these two years past your peasants are ruined men; they sleep on straw; their substance is sold to pay taxes for the war. To pamper the fearful, and rampant luxury of the capital, they live upon tears, and coarse bread. These unfortu-

nates possess nothing but their souls, because a soul cannot be sold by auction! Madame, think of this misery in the inmost recess of your heart. To-night, in the solitude of your oratory, consider what will be the grief, the agony of the subjects of the realm, when by these said edicts, they behold the further confiscation of their miserable pittances. Oh Sire, in the name of humanity, *bienveillance*, and tender pity, triumph over the luxury of your age, rather than over the tears, and misery of your people. Let us therefore pray for the blessings of peace." A murmur of applause arose as the eloquent orator concluded his harangue. The royal edict, nevertheless, was then ordered to be registered by the King himself, amid the ominous silence of the assembly. Yet the Regent and her minister, were not responsible for the national misery; and the war which pressed so heavily on the realm, had not been the result of their ambition, or their mismanagement.

The life of Anne of Austria had fallen in hard times.

CHAPTER V.

1648.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA AND HER CONTESTS WITH THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS.

"KINGS the most despotic reign gloriously only, by showing reverence for the laws, and by commanding the willing allegiance of men. Madame, God only is Omnipotent, and cannot err!" So had spoken the young coadjutor de Gondy, while discoursing with Queen Anne, a few days before the ceremony of the King's Lit de Justice.

On her way from the Palais, on the memorable 15th of January, Anne's mood was pensive. While she was disrobing at the Palais Royal, M. d'Orleans, Mazarin, and other of the ministers, commenced to make indignant comment on the speech of the attorney-general. "Madame, if you obey this M. Talon, you will retire at once to your oratory, and meditate on the enormities committed by your government," exclaimed Monsieur, ironically.* Some hours afterwards, Madame de Motteville entered

* "M. le Cardinal Mazarin, le soir même temoigna son deplaisir à M. Tubœuf, avec paroles de colère, d'aigreur, et de mauvais volonté."—Mém. d'Omer Talon, t. ii. p. 121.

the Queen's bedchamber. Anne was reposing on her bed, and in the *ruelle* sat M. de Mazarin. Both were looking very grave. The Queen beckoned to Madame de Motteville to approach, and after some discourse upon the speech of the attorney-general, Anne said earnestly, "M. Talon is to be commended. I approve the firmness and the equity of his discourse, and the ardour with which he defended the interests of our poor people. Nevertheless, he said too much: he knew that I desire above all things the welfare of the people, and that I would do everything in my power to relieve their misery."

The Parliament, nevertheless, refused to give the Queen credit for such good intentions. The edict registered in the presence of the King raised vehement outcries of wrath, and sedition. Of the nineteen clauses of the edict, four were selected as the *cri de bataille*. These clauses created twelve new Masters of Requests—the offices to be purchased of the crown, and rendered hereditary on payment of la Paulette.* This enactment, therefore, considerably decreased the salaries of the remainder of the counsellors, as the state provided no augmentation of funds to support the newly-appointed officers. The other clauses created a swarm of new functionaries about the Chamber—such as clerks, scribes, sergeants, and assessors. The number of officers of the city police also was to be increased; for which purpose a sum of 150,000 livres

* The *droit annuel*, or Paulette, was established in the reign of Henri IV. by the Duc de Sully, at the suggestion of the financier Paulet. The sum paid yearly into the royal treasury, and by which the counsellors possessed their office by hereditary right, to bequeath, or sell at pleasure, amounted to the sixtieth part of the price paid, in the first instance, for their acquisition. At this period, a counsellor of the High Court often paid the sum of 400,000 francs for the purchase of an office in Parliament.

was to be raised by a tariff, and devoted to the payment of the new functionaries, after they had duly purchased their appointments. These devices were paltry enough, but the private interests of the counsellors were involved; besides, the government gave no sign of its intention to grant afresh the privilege of la Paulette, which had expired with the year 1647.*

The day following, the Chamber bristled with malcontents, who demanded convocation and a debate, inasmuch as the registration of the edicts in the presence of King Louis was a mere formality, and of no value. Molé, aghast at such a doctrine, but who had great reverence for parliamentary traditions, demanded—who were the opponents of the said edict; and how the Chamber considered itself authorised to discuss mandates registered in the presence of the sovereign? A deputation of Masters of Requests then appeared at the bar, and formally protested against the edict, "*portant création des douze nouvelles charges,*" as prejudicial to the interests of the elder officers, and a violation of privileges. The ground upon which the members declared themselves authorized to review an edict registered by the King in person, is curious: the privilege was claimed under the famous act of Richelieu, which abased to nothing the functions of Parliament, and forbade the members, in imperious language, to interfere in affairs of state, or in any way to tamper with edicts registered, *par l'exprès volonté*

* The privilege of paying this tax, was renewed every nine years, which often enabled the sovereign to draw a bountiful benefaction from his subjects, by keeping them in suspense as to its renewal. Later, we shall see that Anne of Austria wished to appropriate the salary of the counsellors for four years, as the price of granting it again to her faithful *gens de robe.*

du roi—except by way of remonstrance. From these words, it was ingeniously argued, that the edicts registered by the King might for the future be read, and discussed by the assembled Chamber, despite of all precedent—else, how could members exercise this privilege of remonstrance, as the custom, in the presence of the King, was to read only the titles of the said edicts, and the concluding formulary? This argument being accepted, Molé voted with the majority, and caused to be distributed amongst the members transcripts of the edict; and fixed the debate thereon for the following Tuesday, January 22nd.

The eye of the Queen, however, was on the daring innovators, and on Monday, January 21st, she sent M. du Plessis Guénégaud to command the presence of the first president M. Molé, and of four deputies, members of La Grande Chambre. Anne drily asked what was the cause of the tumultuous assembly of the Chamber on the previous Saturday, and why convocation had been demanded? Molé, nothing daunted, replied "that the presence of the King in Parliament had taken his loyal subjects by surprise; that the edicts registered had not even been heard by the majority of members; that he had therefore distributed copies of the edicts to all who made the request, nothing prejudicial to the honour of the crown being intended, *sauf* the right of remonstrance." The Queen, apparently satisfied, dismissed the president, with the significant remark, "that she trusted to the loyalty of the Chamber that no more overt act was indeed intended; that the King's edicts were immutable: nevertheless, the right of remonstrance legally apper-

tained to MM. de la Cour."* The High Court, notwithstanding this hint, proceeded to examine the edicts. The clause commanding the creation of new masters in the Court of Requests, it was resolved to resist, and reject, *multis contra dicentibus.* This veto, and the rejection of a clause which compelled the holders of crown lands—*les francs fiefs*—to advance one year's rental on the demand of the government; and which authorised the receivers-general of provinces to anticipate one year's income, to defray the current expenses of the state, exhausted the patience of the Queen. "*Ce canaille s'ingére de reformer l'état!*" exclaimed Anne, indignantly. The audacity of the commons in daring to oppose an edict verified by the King in person, staggered the most liberal of Anne's advisers. The anger even of the Queen herself was at first subdued in blank astonishment at so hardy an enterprise. The attorney-general and the King's counsellors, or *les gens du roi,* were summoned to her presence to offer explanations—"the Queen having heard, with incredible astonishment, that Parliament had assembled to discuss the King's decree respecting *les francs fiefs,* and the *création d'offices!* The Queen understanding, moreover, that a veto had been passed by the Chamber, desired to peruse the said resolution, which was commanded accordingly, and would then signify her pleasure thereon to the Chamber!"* The Chamber resolved that obedience should be rendered to this mandate; and the *gens du roi* were instructed to assure her Majesty of the loyal homage of the Companies,

* Aubéry, Hist, du Cardinal de Mazarin, liv. ii.; Mém. d'Omer Talon.

and to entreat that she would be graciously pleased to send a Declaration, confirming the veto which the members, out of zeal for the public good, had been compelled to append to divers clauses of the late edict.

The deputies, at the head of whom was the attorney-general Talon, presented themselves at the Palais Royal on the evening of February 15, 1648. The chancellor opened the conference, in the presence of their Majesties, by asking explanations. After hearing the humble message of the High Court, Séguier said "that the act of the Companies, was extraordinary and unwarrantable. To dispute the edicts of the King, verified in his presence, and to pronounce a decree of veto upon a measure of government, such as the creation of twelve new Masters of Requests, was a gage of authority against authority, of power against power—in fact, an attempt to revolutionize the kingdom!" During this *pourparler* Anne stood apart, her elbow resting on the mantel-shelf of the chimney; the King sat at the council-table; Mazarin, the Duc d'Orleans, and the young Prince de Condé, were also present. "Tell MM. de la Cour," then exclaimed Monsieur, sternly, "that the King's edicts shall be obeyed; and that I will not fail to defend and protect the crown." M. de Condé then asked permission to speak. Anne, by a gesture, consented. "Sirs," said the Prince, "I should esteem myself wanting in honour if I made not a declaration similar to that of M. d'Orleans. The Queen is willing to listen to remonstrance and to take advice; but let me assure you, that her Majesty knows how to maintain her rank and authority. Believe me, MM. de la Cour had better, by a

prompt explanation, rescue themselves from a position which has never been recognised by the laws of this realm." Mazarin then authoritatively said, "The question is this: an edict, emanates from the privy council, approved by the King, by the Duc d'Orleans, and by the princes of the blood—can the Parliament, by the exercise of its authority, arrest the course of affairs, and order that the edict shall be anulled, or partially executed only? Messieurs, the Queen desires me say, that she is determined not to suffer so notable a departure from the constitution of the realm during the minority of the King, her son!" "Let the Parliament answer! Does the Parliament believe itself to possess the right and the power to limit the King's authority?" fiercely interposed the Queen. "Until we know on what grounds *ces bels gens* debate, nothing can be done to cure such infatuation. Go, M. Talon! Let the Companies investigate on what ground they demand from me a declaration to invalidate a financial decree recently pronounced necessary by their sovereign, who will know how to extort obedience from rebellious subjects!"*

Dismissed so abruptly, Talon and his colleagues, depressed by the anger of the Queen, returned to the Chamber to report what had befallen them. Anne's peremptory question produced the effect she hoped for: the consternation of the members was general; a condition not abated when the Queen sent down on the morrow another message to the house, to the effect "that

* Aubéry: Hist. du Cardinal Mazarin, liv. iv. p. 424; Mém. d'Omer Talon, t. ii.; Registres du Parlement de Paris; Hist. du Temps de 1647—1648.

she forbade the members to proceed with the revision of the edict, or with any other question, until they had sent her an answer to the proposition—whether they pretended to set limits to the royal authority, and to modify the decrees of the crown?"

Molé, and the venerable members of La Haute Chambre, uneasy, sorrowful, and perhaps daunted, began to rummage the registers for precedents; the younger and bolder counsellors mocked at the royal query, and proposed to impeach the minister who stole the public funds: others, taking the question seriously, moved that petition should be made to the Queen to guarantee them in possession of their lives and property, if, in obedience to her command, they proceeded to discuss such a delicate question. The counsellor Broussel alone calmly laughed in his sleeve, and proposed to refer the question to the next States General; meantime, that the Parliament should continue its righteous protest against the public oppressors. The Parliament might have retorted on the Queen, by the question—when had the crown been free to tax the people at pleasure; or to carry on great military campaigns without testing the sense of the country? The fall of the feudal lords, who before had balanced the excessive power of the sovereign, had prepared the way for the political rise of the commons of the realm. Despotic government was ever odious to the people. Mazarin, by the defeat of Les Importants, had merely subjected himself, if not the crown itself, to the control of more sturdy colleagues. It was true the Parliament had no antecedents for the course on which it had entered; necessity, however, created a law, and the reformation of

the realm became a popular cry. Anne erred in putting the question to the Chamber testing the royal authority —the precious veil which shrouded the royal power was thereby rent. The people gazed and argued; they speculated on the origin of that power which threatened them: at first, they groped in the dark—but gradually, the light dawned, and they seized, as they believed, the jewel of liberty, and rejoiced.

The Queen, meantime, anxious to receive response to the question which she deemed so pertinent and conclusive, sent Guénégaud to hasten the deliberations. After days of dreary discussion on the relative and admitted prerogatives of the King, and the Parliament, the matter was compromised, by appending to the rejected decrees the formula, that they had been repealed "*moyennant le bon plaisir du Roi, et de la Reine-Régente.*" Factious speeches, however, continued in the Chamber, and great agitation without. The counsellors, who all their lives had paid a portion of their salaries into the royal treasury—the royal *droit annuel*, which rendered their offices hereditary, and permitted their heirs to sell, and appropriate the price realized from the sale of the office—deemed themselves ruined, by the delay of the government to renew their privilege, and that by an absolute breach of faith, or fraud, on the part of the crown. The members and presidents of the High Court, or Parliament of Paris *par excellence*, felt and resented the same injury. The unscrupulous act of a foreign Cardinal and an unprincipled superintendent of finance, was about, it was said, to impoverish 40,000 families in the realm—for the quarrel of the Paris courts, was it not also the

cause of all the members of the seven provincial Parliaments of the kingdom?

Informed of the rising irritation and distrust, Anne sent down a decree which confirmed again the treasured privilege for a further space of nine years, but hampered by the unpalatable condition, "that the counsellors and members of the Courts—that of the Parliament excepted—should contribute a sum equal to four years salary, to aid in covering the deficit in the treasury." Assailed in their pockets, the outcry of the counsellors was more vehement than ever; the exaction was refused, and the alleged boon canvassed in language mortifying to the ministry. The act was one of Mazarin's petty expedients; and as such, was placed to his credit, with every stinging expletive. The foreign policy of Mazarin was grand: abroad, the *prestige* of France reigned without rival. He was the first minister who carried the art of despatch writing to perfection; his subtle and irresistible arguments, the lucid style, and the precision with which he expressed the will of France, conveyed to the eye in his beautiful, clear Italian handwriting, must have afforded unspeakable relief to ambassadors, hitherto puzzled by the almost illegible scrawls, and misty verbiage, of his predecessors in office. Mazarin, however, a foreigner, and a man also who at this period shunned society, was not the minister to allay and conciliate popular aversion, or to demonstrate with tact that the Queen, and the government were not responsible for the public misery; but that the war, being the act of the preceding reign, was a burden that inevitably must, for a season, press heavily on the national finances. Not

one of the ministers was a popular, or capable man in this respect. D'Emery was regarded with fierce hatred; MM. de Brienne and Guénégaud were mere puppets; Séguier was irresolute, and the taunt "*M. le Chancelier branle*" was a popular chorus; Chavigny, who was occasionally consulted, was spiteful, and covertly fostered agitation; M. d'Orleans, who was now on wonderful terms of amity with the Queen, echoed Anne's own opinions, which in the main were right and politic; the Prince de Condé, offended that Anne had decisively negatived a proposal which he had made to conquer Franche Comté, and to annex it as the future appanage of Condé, was lukewarm; and affected to be "incapable of controlling the intrigues of civilians," especially, such doughty people as MM. de la Cour. The people, still loyal at heart, attributed the rebuffs inflicted on the cabinet to Mazarin's mismanagement, and ignorance. The Coadjutor de Gondy, fostered this opinion; the lower orders of the capital idolized their future archbishop, who was more often to be seen threading the dingy alleys of the Quartiers St. Antoine and St. Jacques, than in the saloons of the Louvre. The cordial, open manner of the young de Gondy won upon the people; his generosity,* and the rollicking *escapades* of which he was the hero, the *prestige* of high birth, and the gift of an eloquent tongue, rendered his career the theme of every tavern gossip in the capital. Half a priest, half a soldier, half a bravo, an exquisite gallant, Gondy fasci-

* "Depuis le 28 Mars, jusqu'au 15 Août, 1648, je dépensai trente-six mille écus en aûmones, et en libéralités. . . . Je ne pouvais ignorer que je ne fusse très mal dans l'ésprit du cardinal. Je voyais la carrière ouverte même pour la pratique aux grandes choses, etc. etc."—De Retz, Mém., p. 158. Paris.

nated by his genius, and by his good nature. The great ladies of the court, charmed by his immense liberalities and accomplishments, were secretly convinced that a prime minister of his calibre would suit the realm better than Le Mazarin. The devout ladies were also his champions: edified by the discourses which he weekly launched from the pulpit of Nôtre Dame. The members of the Gondy family were many of them saintly in their lives, and vocations; one lady, a *sœur de charité*, and an ardent disciple of St. Vincent de Paul, passed her life in distributing alms to the necessitous of the capital; and never omitted to say to each recipient of her bounty, "Pray to God for my nephew—it is he whom He has thought fit to make the instrument of this good deed!"

The condition of the capital was altogether unsatisfactory: trade languished; the vast palaces of the nobility, driven into exile *par le Mazarin*, presented a gloomy façade, with closed windows, and barred doors; while the absence of their owners threw thousands out of employ. The Queen, on one of her Saturday progresses to attend mass at Nôtre Dame, was followed by a mob of women, whose excited gestures, and cries for "Justice!" and for "Bread!" might have alarmed a princess of less steady nerve. "Her Majesty told me that she was tempted to speak to them, and to command her guards to suffer them to approach; but she acknowledged that she dreaded the insolent language generally used by this sort of *canaille*. She wisely resolved not to speak to such people, who are always unreasonable, and understand nothing but their own paltry interests."* Mazarin,

* Mém. de Motteville, t. ii.; année 1648.

therefore, had become the *bête noire* of the populace. His sedentary habits, seclusion, his ignorance of the customs of the country, his feuds with the Parliament, his arbitrary edicts, his negative virtues, his pious sentiments and careless example, his mysterious *liaison* with Anne of Austria, began to be discussed, and lampooned. The depression of the Queen likewise became great—she began to distrust her minister. Resolved that not one of the prerogatives of the crown should be lost during the King's minority, Anne lamented the want of firmness displayed by Mazarin. Accustomed to the high-handed rule of Richelieu, she scarcely comprehended the subtle craft, and wary patience which distinguished the Cardinal's policy. "God give me patience! the Cardinal is too facile: he will lose all by always sparing, and propitiating his enemies!" exclaimed she often, despondingly. "Madame," replied Mazarin, "you resemble a young recruit—you fight, but know not your danger." An order was issued by the Queen at this time (the spring of 1648), in imitation of Richelieu, forbidding politics to be discussed by members of her household; she also exiled M. de Bélébat, and M. Sarazin, a *bel esprit* of the Marais, for having circulated satirical verses against the Cardinal. Mazarin's old enemy, de Hautefort, now Duchesse de Schomberg,* also made an ineffectual effort to regain Anne's favour by appearing at the *lever*, and offering to perform the office of *dame d'atours* at the

* She married Henri de Schomberg, Duc de Schomberg, Count de Nanteuil, Marshal of France, who sought her for his second wife, solely on the repute of her virtues and talents.

Queen's toilette. Anne, whose composure was seldom ruffled by any surprise, calmly repelled her proferred service, saying, "Madame, know that it is very difficult to regain my heart again, after its favour has been once forfeited!"*

The Queen, not being able to persuade herself that the Chamber would persist in its mutinous defiance, resolved to give the members an opportunity of retiring from the contest. On the 28th of April the Duke of Orleans and the young Prince de Conty† went down to the Palais to solicit the registration of the edict which had been rejected by the Parliament, from the Courts of Aids, and Accompts. The remonstrances of the Princes were roughly negatived; and they were told in plain terms by the presidents, Nicolai, and Amelot, "That the Chambers had sworn to each other inviolable fidelity." M. Nicolai scared Monsieur's timid spirit by the violence of his diatribe against M. d'Emery, to whose counsels he chose to attribute the spirit displayed by the Queen. "The people, Monsieur, have already, in the space of four years, contributed the enormous sum of three hundred millions of francs towards the extraordinary expenditure of the state: they can no more. Permit me, Monsieur, to explain to you the true cause of our wars;—we have a man in this realm who abuses the sovereign power, and who reigns instead of the King. This personage enriches himself by the spoil of

* Motteville; Cousin, Vie de Madame de Hautefort; Dreux du Radier, Vie de Madame de Hautefort.

† Armand de Bourbon, younger brother of the Prince de Condé, born in 1629, died in 1666.

the people; who, when he has devoured all, and has satisfied his infamous partisans, desires under the cloak of our venerable magistracy* to find refuge, and impunity for all his abominable villanies, and thefts." In such strain Nicolai harangued Monsieur, who bitterly regretted that he had been prevailed upon to recommend the edict. In the Cour des Aydes the Prince de Conty fared no better. Amelot, however, pitying the position of the delicate deformed boy, who had been sent on so inauspicious an errand, spared him the reproaches which for many a day tingled in the ears of Monsieur.† The same evening, April 28th, the Chamber despatched a deputation of six persons to the Palais Royal, to supplicate the Queen to grant la Paulette "gratis" to her faithful counsellors of all the courts: also to be graciously pleased to confirm the veto of the Chamber, which had now gone through the whole of the edict of the 15th January, and had negatived several of its clauses on public grounds: also, to pray her Majesty to devise some more acceptable expedient to relieve the financial necessity of the realm. The Queen briefly responded, that she would confer with her council, and send her answer on the morrow. The next day Anne, to the surprise and mortification of the members, sent a mandate revoking the grant of the *droit annuel*, which she had conceded conditionally on the payment into the treasury of a sum equal to four years' salary by each counsellor of the courts. The

* M. d'Emery was suspected of coveting the Great Seal.

† Mém. d'Omer Talon, t. ii.; Hist. du Temps de 1647—1648; Registres du Parlement de Paris; Aubéry; Gualdo; Vies de Mazarin.

mandate set forth that "a boon never ought to be compulsory,—therefore, her Majesty had withdrawn a gift apparently so unwelcome to MM. de la Cour, and had replaced them in precisely the same condition they were before the unfortunate offer.* She also desired a categorical reply to the question before evaded—'Did the Chamber pretend to the power of limiting, or revoking the mandates of the King?'"

This iteration of an inconvenient question, and the ironical withdrawal of the grant of *le droit annuel*, infuriated the counsellors of the lower courts. These courts therefore assembled in conference May 1st, and agreed to unite their strength, and authority to extort justice from the government; and to debate for the reformation of the realm. Deputies were sent to the municipal Council of Paris, and to MM. de l'Hôtel de Ville, to ask co-operation in the great work of reform. The proposal was accepted with transport;—the municipal authorities remembered the forced loan of eighteen millions; and the unpopular exactions of *le tarif*. The courts assembled in the Salle de St. Louis to confer on the preliminary proceedings. It was resolved that six deputies and four presidents, from each lower court, should daily assemble in the hall of the Cour des Aydes; and that the resolutions proposed, and carried by a majority of votes should be finally submitted for confirmation to the united Parliament—*toutes Cham-*

* "La Reine, qui n'avoit pas gratifié le Parlement de bon cœur, disait, en parlant de cette affaire, qu'elle croyait qu'il se repenteroit de ce qu'il avait fait; et qu'elle n'etait pas fachée d'avoir eté contrainte de revoquer la grace accordée malgré elle. . . . La Reine ne croyait pas qu'aucune créature pût, on dût oser se defendre contre la volonté du Roi."—Motteville, année 1648.

bres Assemblées. The junction thus effected of the Cours des Aydes, des Comptes, and le Grand Conseil of the Hôtel de Ville, it was resolved to summon la Grande Chambre, or Parliament of Paris, to join in the decree of Union. "The three Companies believed themselves powerless unless they could gain the assent, and adherence of the Parliament;—the first sovereign Company of the realm, the honour and glory of its King, the High Court wherein the sovereign held his Lit de Justice, and the Parliament of the peers of France."

On Monday, the 4th of May, the three Courts thus fused into an important assemblage, sent to crave the adhesion of the august Parliament of Paris. The Parliament replied by sending deputies to the Salle de St. Louis to inquire the meaning, and object of the union? The Courts replied, "That the object was to reform the abuses of the realm; moreover, it had been further advised to request the co-operation of MM. des Enquêtes in the approaching deliberations." Some negotiations ensued; but the project was too acceptable to the resentment, and to the passions of the members to meet with serious opposition. Molé hesitated; with intentions of perfect rectitude, and moderate in his political code, the first president was one of those men, who by their zealous acts, encourage more than they intend to support. On the 13th of May, 1648, the celebrated decree of Union of all the Chambers, for the reformation of the government, and for the better ordering of the realm, was unanimously pronounced.* This formidable coalition

* Registres du Parlement de Paris, ad. ann. 1648; Mém. d'Omer Talon, t. ii.; Hist. du Temps; Archives Curieuses, t. vii., 2e série.

alarmed, and exasperated the ministers. Mazarin reproached the Queen for her vehemence; and declared that the members must be propitiated, and the formidable decree of Union dissolved, by that most potent of all incentives, the private interest of each individual member. Accordingly, Séguier sent for the Presidents de Mêsme and de Coigneux, the Counsellors Broussel, and Turcan: he represented how astonished and grieved the Queen was at their late proceedings; that the members had taken a false alarm; and that her Majesty never thought of permanently confiscating the offices of the members,—but desired that they would each contribute something towards the necessity of the state. When this message was communicated to the Parliament, the sensation was profound: on the table lay Anne's late Declaration, repealing the donation she had made them of the right, and benefit of la Paulette! The Chancellor, the members averred, must have lost his wits. Meantime, the matter did not concern private interests; the grievance had now taken a broader basis: they had united to reform the realm,—to repair the maladministration of finance, and to punish the shameless malversation of the courtiers. "Carry our response to the Chancellor," exclaimed Molé. "We will no longer trust our private interests to the mercy of a controller-general; or the administration of the realm to a foreigner!"* This response drew tears from the eyes of the Queen. "Dieu merci!" exclaimed she; "am I indeed come to the miserable condition, that every one

* Hist. du Temps; Aubéry, Hist. du Cardinal Mazarin; Registres du Parlement, ann. 1648.

thinks it an honour to disobey me! Ah! I will sooner die than submit!" The council was immediately summoned—at which Anne presided. M. d'Orleans, divining that measures of retaliation were to be discussed, tried to excuse himself; but a hint from the Queen to the duke's favourite, the Abbé de la Rivière, who desired a cardinal's hat, brought Monsieur, all cowering, to his usual place at the council board. On the night of Thursday, in Whitsun week, the counsellors Turcan and Dargouge, who had made themselves especially obnoxious in the debates respecting the Union, were arrested in their own houses, and thrown into prison; two members of the Cour des Aydes were on the following night also seized, and committed to the Bastille, as rebels and infractors of the commands of the King. A howl of indignation convulsed Paris. The Parliament, which had before agreed to suspend its sittings until after the Whitsun holidays, assembled in confusion, and dismay.* "It is time indeed, Messieurs, to deliberate," exclaimed the President de Mêsme: "we have seen our gowns torn from our backs; our way is beset by the officers of the Queen, who threaten us with chains and fetters! Yes, Messieurs, nothing is left to us but to debate with energy. Let us contrive every imaginable means to secure our liberty, our goods, and our national prosperity!" On the 1st of June Talon and *les gens du roi* were summoned to confer with Séguier. The Chancellor said that he was commissioned by the Queen to prohibit the execution of the decree of Union, as preju-

* Hist. du Temps; Aubéry, Hist. du Cardinal Mazarin; Registres du Parlement, ann. 1648.

dicial to the realm,—as a thing impossible under a monarchy; and as a feud disgraceful to France in the eyes of foreign powers. "The Queen," continues Séguier, "will attribute further scandal to MM. les Presidents, and especially will visit with her indignation M. Molé." * The Duke of Orleans entering the apartment, said "that he agreed with the Queen; and could not conceal from himself that in this matter of union, with the minor courts, Parliament had forgotten its duty; that this *imperium in imperio* could not be tolerated; that he should regret all his life if he found himself compelled to give counsel, hostile to the Parliament, in order to maintain the authority of the crown: in short, the Queen forbad the Parliament to partake in the deliberations of the rebellious courts in the Chambre St. Louis." Talon replied, "that he deeply regretted that her Majesty's words manifested such deep resentment."

On the 13th of June, M. de Guénégaud went down to the Palais, and presented a *lettre de cachet* by which the King annulled the Decree of Union; and commanded that the leaf of the register on which the *arrêt d'Union* had been entered, should be torn therefrom, and the royal decree substituted.† The sensation was great when this royal missive was read: the members yet hesitated to reject the mandates of their liege lord—and if Anne had remained unfettered by the timorous counsels of Mazarin, she would yet have been

* "La Reine dit qu'on eut a luy obéir, sinon qu'elle s'en prendroit à MM. les Présidents; ou du moins à Monsieur le premier Président."—Aubéry.

† Registres du Parlement, année 1648.

a match for the malcontents. Groups of members dispersed here and there, throughout the vast hall in anxious debate. The pale face of Molé wore a still more depressed aspect as he bent his troubled glance on the *lettre de cachet* spread open on the desk before him. The rash young counsellors, however, summed up their grievances in denunciations against Mazarin and d'Eméry. One audacious voice asked—"Why should not the Parliament of Paris follow the example of the Parliament of England, and impeach her dishonest ministers?" All eyes sought out Talon, the popular attorney-general, who as an officer of the crown performed his duty without flinching. Talon therefore rose to speak, and one by one the members returned to their benches. The orator recapitulated the events of the last six months, and drew a piteous picture of the internal disorders of the kingdom. He stated that the Queen was ready, upon their humble demand, to grant the *droit annuel* to the Companies, revoked only because she supposed that the members, by the ungracious manner in which they received her boon, thought it valueless and inopportune; that she was prepared to hear and redress, the separate grievances of each court, provided that the word "union" was proscribed. If, after these gracious remonstrances and prohibitions, the Companies persisted in their mutinous association, she would abjure all further consideration for them; and would avenge their disobedience so keenly, that the wound inflicted in her wrath would take long to heal. For himself, Talon declared, "that he deprecated the menaces of the court:—that the enemy

threatened the frontiers of Lorraine; that he counselled that matters should be discussed with moderation; and that the unequalled woes of the Holy League should be remembered before,"——The patience of Talon's hearers here become exhausted: with shouts and hisses, the members refused longer to listen; and the house adjourned in uproar.*

The following day the chamber assembled, when the *lettre de cachet* was read, and discussed. After a stormy debate, it was resolved, "that remonstrance should be made to the Queen, deprecating the little consideration and confidence which she displayed towards her loyal Parliament." This appeal was answered by the arrival of M. de Guénégaud, in one of the royal coaches, accompanied by Carnavalet, lieutenant of the royal guard, attented by a score of archers. Guénégaud sent for M. du Tillet, keeper of the registers, and demanded the leaf, in the name of her Majesty, which the King's mandate had commanded to be torn from the register. Du Tillet declared that he had not the register, which was still in the hands of Boileau, the clerk, whose duty it was to make the entries. In a very peremptory tone, M. de Guénégaud ordered the registrar-general to show him to the room where the said clerk performed his work. The secretary and his train accordingly, there pounced upon a poor little clerk, whose name was Bigot, as he was settling himself to work after returning from dinner, and desired him to fetch M. Boileau, who had not yet arrived. This Bigot was one of the petty officials who deemed himself

* Mém. d'Omer Talon, t. ii.; Registres du Parlement de Paris, ann. 1648.

aggrieved by the multiplication of offices; he accordingly sturdily declined to call M. Boileau, saying that "it was not his business." A loud altercation ensued; the noise of which attracted many idlers from the corridors of the Palais, who all joined with their tongues in the onslaught on the functionaries of state. Presently a great banging of doors, and the sound of many feet was heard, and counsellors swarmed from the committee rooms to Boileau's chamber, to learn the cause of the uproar. The sight of the royal equipage, and the archers of the guard, had gathered a crowd in the street, and the confusion became great. Guénégaud, amid a Babel of voices, steadily stated his mission, which was received with ironical cheers. The secretary at length gladly escaped by a narrow back staircase, and issued from the Palais escorted by his archers, and by M. de Carnavalet. The younger members rushed to the windows to witness the departure of the discomfited envoy; who entered the royal coach, and drove away saluted by derisive laughter, and gibes.*

This rude reception of her envoy did not dispose the Queen to take a more amicable view of the proceedings of the Parliament. In vain she looked for aid in this dilemma, and found none. "Madame," said the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, "your true friends, and allies are in exile. In the presence of the princes, think you that *ces badauds* would have raised the banner of rebel-

* "Les ministres se servirent l'après dîner d'un artifice qui avoit plus de l'école et du college que non pas d'une politique grave et majestueuse, telle qu'ils devaient faire paraitre dans la rencontre."—Hist. du Temps. "La cour outrée s'avisa de l'expédient du monde le plus bas, et le plus ridicule, qui fut d'avoir la feuille de l'arrêt"—writes de Retz.

lion? M. de Mazarin has isolated you, and cannot defend the crown!" It seemed to the Queen, in her dismay, as if the duke spoke advisedly: her very soul loathed the presumption of *ces gens de la robe,* who persisted in the treasonable design of constituting a fifth chamber in the realm, before which the acts of the King might be arraigned.

On the 16th of June a third mandate went down to the Chamber from the privy council, again expressly annulling the Decree of Union; and commanding the presence of the entire body of Parliament at the Palais Royal, by nine the following morning, to bring the leaf from the register, and deliver it, by the hands of M. Molé, to her Majesty. Another factious debate ensued; some of the more feeble spirits, daunted by the reiterated commands of the King, asked the question, "Shall we—dare we, continue to assemble in the face of the decree of cassation, which has been twice pronounced in our presence?" "Yes, Messieurs," replied the president, de Novion; "yes, you will continue to assemble: the decree is dictated by the Queen-Regent, it is true, but it is our privilege to protect our King in his minority!" Many members voted that no notice should be taken of the summons to the palace; that her Majesty's reprimands were wearisome, and could not divert the Companies from their high purposes. The majority of members, however, voted that respectful obedience should be paid to the Queen's summons; but nevertheless, the Decree of Union should on the same afternoon be executed, by holding a first conference for the regeneration of the realm, in La Chambre St. Louis.

The question was then put to the vote, whether the leaf from the register should be torn from the book and carried to the Queen, in token of submission to her commands.* By an immense majority the Parliament decided in the negative—"*Nec possumus, nec debemus;*" exclaimed Molé.†

At the Palais Royal meantime, the event was felt to be momentous. On the eventful 17th of June, all was early astir at the palace. Guards were posted along the streets converging to the Palais Royal. A great muster of courtiers filled Richelieu's splendid halls and galleries, to witness the issue of an affair, which he would have clinched with despotic power; but which, in the nerveless grasp of Mazarin, threatened to result in the signal discomfiture of the royal honour. The majority of the courtiers, however, firmly believed "*ques barbons*" would appear, parchment in hand, to implore the royal clemency, and slowly disperse to their obscure abodes when dismissed. Anne, meantime, rose early, and passed some hours in her oratory; a deep and burning resentment was rising at the persistent enterprises of the courts. At eight she caused herself to be splendidly arrayed: during her toilette the young King appeared. Anne embraced him tenderly, and taking him by the hand, said—"*Mon fils, montrez aujourd'hui que vous êtes Roi!*" The Queen then passed

* "Plusieurs des Messieurs et des plus jeunes, firent des harangues magnifiques, et qui avoient quelque chose de l'ancienne Rome."—Registres du Parlement, ann. 1648.

† "Toutes les opinions furent appuyées de si beaux raisonnements, que le premier Président temoigna en sortant qu'il auroit souhaité que la Reyne eût esté présente à la deliberation; par ce que sans doute, elle aurait elle-même agrée l'Union, à laquelle l'on s'opposoit avec tant d'opiniastreté."—Hist. du Temps.

to her presence chamber, in which a dais and canopy had been erected. Round the throne all the principal personages in Paris were grouped.

MM. de la Cour, meantime, assembled at the Palais, and set out on foot to the Palais Royal. At the head of the cortège marched Mathieu Molé, who lived bitterly to repent the share he had taken in the first movements of the coming revolt. "Molé," says an eloquent modern writer,* "was a man of strange character: a mixture of popularity and devotedness, legality and resistance. He was in himself a picture to contemplate, with his fine bald head, and long beard. His wit was piquant and racy; his determination was unyielding as iron; his conversation was satirical and telling. His eyes shone like carbuncles, and gleamed beneath his bushy grey eyebrows. When excited, it was his habit to grasp and clutch his beard."

A tumultuous rabble of from ten to twelve thousand persons followed in the wake of MM. de la Cour, who marched, wearing their red gowns, with infinite pomp and dignity.† On their approach the great gates of the Palais Royal opened, and the High Court was met by M. Guénégaud, and by Sainctôt, master of the Ceremonies, and conducted into the Hall of Ambassadors. Shortly, M. Le Tellier entered. Saluting the first president, he asked, whether they had brought the register? Molé replied in the negative,‡ and M. Le Tellier quitted the apartment to deliver this response.

* M. de Capefigue.

† Nota, Omer Talon:—"Il y eut une vingtaine de conseillers qui ne voulurent pas aller au Palais Royal, de crainte d'y être arrêtés."

‡ "Le premier Président répondit que non, et qu'il en diroit les raisons à la Reine."—De Retz, Mém., p. 148. Omer Talon, t. ii.

Various were the counsels given to the Queen to mark her sense of the disloyal obduracy of the chamber. Monsieur counselled her to dismiss the Parliament without audience. Séguier proposed to arrest Molé, and four or five of the presidents, hoping that so salutary an example might strike terror:* another hit upon the inconvenient device of detaining the Parliament at the Palais Royal, without bite or sup, until the members relented, and sent for the leaf. Prudent counsels, however, prevailed; and at length Le Tellier returned to the impatient magistrates, and ushered them to the presence chamber. The Queen received her Parliament with "an expression of severe majestic gravity," which betokened how greatly her feelings had been outraged. The Chancellor then harangued the assembly in an oration which lasted more than an hour and a half; during which he recapitulated every incident of the unhappy feud. He concluded his harangue by commanding the Parliament to refrain from meddling in affairs of state; to repeal their Decree of Union with the inferior chambers; and to send the parchment containing the treasonable decree to the Queen within twenty-four hours, having previously inserted in their register the edict of cassation. Molé stepped forward to reply, when Anne interrupted him, saying, "M. le President, I am cognizant of your own loyal intentions. As for the factious men who trouble the realm, if they obey not the orders of the King, tell them that I will

* "L'on pretend que la reine etait assez portée à arrêter le Parlement: mais personne ne fut de cette avis."—De Retz, Mém., p. 148. Omer Talon, t. ii.

punish them in their persons, and estates, even to their posterity. Messieurs, retire, and do your duty; and let these lamentable feuds cease!"* Nothing more passed at this audience, which had been ordered with such parade of authority. It is stated by another authority, who was an eye-witness of the interview, that the Queen, yielding to the natural impetuosity of her character, exclaimed several times imperiously, "*Je veux avoir cette feuille; n'y manquez pas!*" "This sedition is the work of ten or twelve amongst you, whose names I well know. Bring me that leaf!" The ninety-four counsellors and presidents, therefore, trudged back to their hall of assembly; the clerk of the High Court bearing a fourth decree *de cassation*, which had been thrust into his hands by Guénégaud, as the Parliament defiled from the royal presence. The Companies immediately proceeded to debate, when it was resolved, "that notwithstanding, and despite of all royal decrees and prohibitions, the assembly nominated for conference in the Hall of St. Louis should hold its sessions." The deputies elected, immediately defiled from la Grande Chambre, headed by the presidents, Molé, Le Coigneux, Blancménil, and de Novion, and entered the Salle St. Louis. Having thus inaugurated their rebellion, the members separated to prepare for the solemn opening of the debates on the morrow.

* "La reine vous a fait declarer dans 4 occasions qu'elle ne pouvait suffrir la fonction des Compagnies: néanmoins vous avez persisté: elle a cassé votre arrôte de 10 Juin; vous n'y avez pas déféré: si vous persistez, MM., dans votre resolution il n'y a que de deux choses—l'une ou que la Reine vous défére, qu'elle s'humilie, qu'elle abaisse *l'autorité royale*, ou que le Parlement souffre diminution."—Harangue de Séguier.

A fortnight previously, on Whitsunday, an event had happened which greatly affected Mazarin. The Duc de Beaufort escaped from Vincennes, where he had passed a painful captivity of five years; having been denied any kind of communication with his family or friends, and being permitted only, to take exercise in a little open gallery, about twenty feet below his window in the donjon tower. In the duke's bedchamber eight royal archers watched, commanded by an officer of the name of La Ramée. Chavigny was governor of Vincennes, and at first sedulously performed his duties as guardian over the prisoner; but as his relations with his old *protégé* Mazarin became cooler, and cooler, it was whispered, that with the malignant intent of contributing a bitter ingredient in the coming strife, he relaxed in his vigilance. The week preceding Whitsunday, therefore, Chavigny devoutly retired into the great Carthusian monastery, to pass the sacred season, with the assent of the Queen, who always commended and granted such a petition. M. La Ramée, meantime, had formed a profound attachment for his prisoner, and treated him with every respect. Some time previously, therefore, to please the duke, he had accepted among his archers a man of the name of Vaugrimaut, once a retainer of Vendôme; but who had rendered himself amenable to the gallows by fighting a duel, in defiance of the royal edict, which rendered such an offence capital. He therefore, as he averred, sought refuge within the fortress, as the last place where the King's officers would seek him. A plot meantime had been concocted, with great subtilty, for the release of the duke, by the Duchesse de Vendôme,

and her daughter, Madame de Nemours. Its details were intrusted to a M. de Vaumorin, who executed his undertaking with skill. Whitsunday being chosen for the attempt—because on this festival, high mass was generally attended, and therefore, there were few loungers about the fortress—a pie was sent on the preceding day to the duke's ally within the castle, and introduced as a present from the man's father, which contained a long silken rope, instead of savoury meat.

On Whitsunday, therefore, the duke attended early mass, and devoutly received the holy Eucharist. After leaving the chapel, he asked permission to take the air in the gallery overhanging the moat, which was dry, but of great depth. Although it was the usual dinner-hour, La Ramée, reluctant to refuse the request, offered to walk with the prisoner. This incident created suspicion that La Ramée was an accomplice in the plot, which depended for its execution on this mark of complaisance for the wishes of his prisoner—though from the rough treatment afterwards experienced by this officer, the fact appears improbable. Vaugrimaut, meantime, went with his colleagues to their mess-room, where, feigning sudden indisposition, he took a draught of wine, and saying that, as he had no desire to eat, he would go to M. le Duc, and release M. La Ramée. Passing quickly through the door, Vaugrimaut lifted a ponderous bar and quietly dropped it into its staple, thus imprisoning his colleagues, who were too busy in the gratification of their appetites to notice his exit. Two or three more intervening doors were thus similarly closed. At the iron door

opening into the gallery, Vaugrimaut knocked, and was admitted by La Ramée, who, in apparent blind confidence, allowed him to lock the door. In an instant, a tremendous blow on the head from the heavy keys struck the unfortunate La Ramée to the ground. He was then seized by the duke and his ally, an iron gag was forced into his mouth, and they skilfully proceeded to bind him hand and foot.* This accomplished, the rope was tied to the parapet of the gallery, and the duke and his deliverer descended, Vaugrimaut going first, according to a solemn promise made by Beaufort.† Unfortunately, the rope was not long enough by twelve feet, the immense depth of the fosse not having been properly calculated. Vaugrimaut, letting go his grasp of the rope, dropped, and rose, being but little bruised: the Duc de Beaufort, however, when attempting to follow the same example, fell, striking his temple against a projection of masonry, and remained for some time insensible at the bottom of the moat.

The spectators of this bold enterprise were four or five men, who watched the descent with bated breath, but who instantly rushed to the rescue; and a woman and a child, who were gathering vegetables in a garden sloping to the castle moat—"but these, being terrified by the menaces of the aforesaid men, sat down quietly and watched the adventure." Besides, the greatest sympathy was evinced throughout the locality for the handsome young captive. The duke's faithful confederate was

* Mém. de Guy Joly; Campion.

† "Vaugrimaut disait à ce prince qu'il etait juste qu'il le mit le premier hors de danger, puisque qu'il y allait de sa vie; au lieu que si on venait a reprendre son Altesse, il en serait quitte pour garder une prison plus resserré," —Guy Joly, p. 17.

speedily hauled from the bottom of the ditch by strong and willing arms. M. de Beaufort, meantime, recovering a little by the help of a powerful cordial, found strength to tie a rope round his waist, and was also speedily drawn up, but in a fainting condition. Surrounded by his friends, and soon infected by their intolerable suspense and dread of arrest, Beaufort recovered his spirits. Springing on a horse, which was suddenly led to his side, and waving his hat, he disappeared like a lightning flash, exclaiming, "*Ah! je suis libre!*" A quarter of a mile from Vincennes, hidden in a little wood by the roadside, were fifty of the bravest allies of Vendôme, who hailed their recovered chieftain with gesticulations of maddest joy. The party then pushed forwards, and drew rein only when the proud towers of Anet burst on their eager gaze.

The Queen showed outwardly little displeasure at the escape of Beaufort: indeed, it was surmised in the palace that Anne's heart had relented towards her old friends Les Importants; and, consequently, that she was not sorry when Beaufort so cleverly extricated himself from the clutches of Mazarin. Some bolder speculators dared even to insinuate that Anne had connived at his flight; and that she meditated calling back her old friends to power, as statesmen who knew better than the Cardinal how to sustain the rights of the crown against the seditious Parisians. "The duke has done well—he was right to escape if he could!" said Anne, laughing. Chavigny, however, was severely taken to task by the Cardinal for his negligence in not having posted sentinels outside the donjon tower of Vincennes. The

Queen participated in this resentment, suspecting the treachery lurking in the heart of Chavigny; who replied, when reprimanded, "that La Ramée was her Majesty's officer in charge of the prisoner, who ought to answer for the duke's escape; as for himself, he never received any command whatever from her Majesty concerning M. de Beaufort." Rumours had long been current that the Vendôme family meditated some such stratagem. Madame de Vendôme, though apparently devoted to religion, and almost a constant inmate of the Carmelite convent, was a woman of subtle spirit, adored by her sons, but disliked by the Queen, who believed her capable, and daring enough, for any *tour d'adresse*. Mazarin consequently had sent for M. La Ramée, and informed him of the rumours afloat; charging him, on his allegiance, to keep M. de Beaufort at all times under his own eye. "Monseigneur," replied La Ramée, "if M. de Beaufort can transform himself into a bird, and fly through his prison window, he may foil my vigilance, otherwise—never!" Had Mazarin's counsel been followed, Beaufort would soon have found himself in the Bastille; but Anne declined to take measures to seize the fugitive—"as" said she, "*ce pauvre garçon* has been punished enough already, for his *escapade* of 1643." Beaufort, nevertheless, deemed it expedient to offer some explanation to the court. His friend, M. de Senneterre, therefore, waited on Mazarin, to assure him that he might reckon on the future loyal neutrality of the duke, who intended to remain at Anet, without attempting to approach Paris. "The Queen," says Madame de Motteville, "resigned herself to the fact, not hating M. de Beaufort, except

for state reasons; and she got over the little mortification of this affair."

Matters of graver moment incessantly occupied Anne's mind at this period. Incapable of understanding the popular cry for freedom, and believing that subjects might not rise in rebellious defiance against their sovereign for any motive whatever, the Queen most conscientiously thought that it was her duty to punish, and repress "the revolt." "Anne of Austria could never understand the meaning and significance of the words 'the public,'" writes Gondy; who watched every impulse of the Queen with lynx-eyed eagerness. Worthy of her descent as the great grand-daughter of Charles V., Anne's blood curdled at the audacious defiance with which her commands were met. At first, a feeling of terror and loneliness assailed her, and she trembled under the responsibilities which she had so eagerly accepted; she wept, and her depression led her more than ever to seek the solitude of the churches, and convents of the capital. As time elapsed and troubles increased, the courage of the Queen returned. Betrayed by all—but by Mazarin, her creature, a man who, like her grandfather Philip II. of Spain, knew how to govern by the pen, by patient long-suffering, by subtle advances, and by manners bland and perfect,—Anne adhered to her minister with a fidelity, a resource, and a vigour of capacity which amazed, and subdued their foes. Mazarin, however, gained not this supreme ascendency until troubles thick as hail darkened the path of the Queen. The terrible tragedies in England had appalled her; and roused by the fervency of her love for her idolized son, Anne

vowed that no weakness should despoil the crown of those supreme prerogatives which disloyal subjects clamoured to usurp; and which, during a Regency, she had neither the right to yield, nor they to demand. After one of these long harassing days, spent in wearisome quarrels at the council-board, or in hateful parleys with Molé, Talon, and others, Anne frequently strolled forth into the gardens of the palace, and wandered by moonlight, attended by three or four favoured ladies, until dawn. These moonlight walks, the Queen said, "restored her mind, soothed her nerves, and enabled her to meet with tranquillity the events of the coming day." "Oh! how sick I am of saying, and daily repeating, I wonder what those people (the Parliament) will do to-morrow!" often exclaimed Anne. Many little plots also annoyed the Queen during the summer of 1648. Mademoiselle, that lively, witty, conceited coquette, then in the bloom of her charms, disappointed because the Queen had not negotiated an alliance for her with the widowed Emperor, was detected in a secret plot for eloping, to become the wife of her Majesty's cousin, the Archduke Leopold, governor of the Low Countries. A spirited defence was made by Mademoiselle, who rated her father the Duc d'Orleans so vehemently in the presence of the Queen, for his supineness in not finding for her a suitable consort, that Anne confided privately to Madame de Motteville, her disgust at such flippant conduct, adding, "Madame, if any daughter of mine had treated me with the insolence which Mademoiselle showed to her father, I would have banished her from court, and shut her up for life in a

convent!" The alliance, which in itself was suitable enough, was objectionable at this juncture of affairs, on account of Monsieur; who, ever holding on to the crown by the slenderest of ties, would, after acquiring an Imperial son-in-law, doubtless, espouse Austrian interests in the councils of France.

In Condé Anne at this time felt that there was refuge; she was not yet disabused as to his intense selfishness—a vice so commonly displayed by junior princes of the blood, in France. His valiant sword, his energy and genius, might retrieve the *prestige* of the crown. The people, alike ungrateful to their sovereign, and to a prince, the glory of the age, had dared to satirize the unfortunate campaign in Catalonia, and the momentary cloud which his retreat from before Lerida* had cast on the fame of Condé, by injurious songs. After the raising of the siege of Lerida, June 17th, Condé received a secret missive from the Queen, summoning him to confer on urgent matters. The prince accordingly arrived suddenly in Paris, where a sharp war of words ensued between the prince and Mazarin; as the former attributed his repulse to the want of reinforcements, which the Cardinal had promised, and never sent. His Eminence excused himself on the plea of destitution, as the Parliament refused to pass his financial edicts. Condé then generously offered to advance, from his own splendid resources, a sum sufficient to pay the army of Flanders, which had to sustain the assault of the Archduke Leopold in Picardy. Condé assured the Queen of his devotion;

* The siege of Lerida was raised June 17th, 1648.

he advised her to adopt conciliatory proceedings, and took his leave of the court, to meet the Archduke, promising to return to her aid, irresistible in the glory of another successful campaign.

Left again to her own resources, between her timid advisers Mazarin, and the Duc d'Orleans, Anne suddenly took the resolution of consulting M. de Châteauneuf upon the possibility of combating the active hostility of the Parliament.

The greatest distress now existed in the royal household for want of money. Anne pledged her jewels to supply her own table, and that of the King. The Princess de Condé lent her the sum of 4000 crowns to pay the Swiss guards. The outcry against Mazarin then became general, and the name of the Queen herself was not respected. The speeches, moreover, delivered at the Palais continued seditious and defiant. The president Blancménil alluded with approbation to the proceedings of the English Parliament. Another member named Laisné, quoted with *gusto* a sentence from the speech of Sir Thomas Wroth, spoken at Westminster: "Mr. Speaker," said this demagogue, "Bedlam is prepared for madmen, and Tophet for Kings. Our King behaves as if Bedlam was the only place fit for him—I propose that this house proceeds to business, without reference to the King." It has been conjectured by some, that Anne sent for Châteauneuf by the advice of the Cardinal: it, however, certainly appears that she was ready to accept the counsels of any personage who could steer her through the difficulties of the present; and had Châteauneuf engaged to do this,

and at the same time support the royal supremacy, he would have replaced Mazarin. The audience with Châteauneuf was long, and it was the first political conference which the Queen held in *sa petite chambre grise*, which had the advantage of being out of earshot of curious personages. Châteauneuf told the Queen* that his long banishment from public affairs had caused him to lose the thread of politics; and that in so complicated an affair he felt himself incompetent to act. That he could not accept office subordinate to Mazarin; also, that the hostility of M. de Condé and his family would be fatal to him, if he were not fortunate enough to possess her Majesty's entire confidence, and support. Anne quickly comprehended, that Châteauneuf and his party did not intend to come to her rescue, unless Mazarin were dismissed the kingdom. Châteauneuf, however, ventured to advise the offer of the following boons to the Parliament, provided that the Chambers dissolved their Union, and returned to their ordinary functions:—1st. To concede *le droit annuel* without condition. 2ndly. To diminish, by half, the number of Masters of Requests to be created in virtue of the royal edict; moreover, to assure the Cour des Enquêtes that if it made humble remonstrance, it might expect entire concession in this matter, from the royal clemency. 3rdly. To recall and pardon all

* "Châteauneuf, craignant quelque finesse, parla à la reine selon ses soupçons, lui disant toujours sur toutes les questions qu'elle lui fit, que ne connoissant point le fond des affaires, il était impossible qu'il pût lui donner aucun conseil."—Motteville. Retz. The High Court nevertheless rejoiced at this consultation; and several of the members in the afternoon session of the following day, predicted that her Majesty would incline to clemency, and to a more amiable consideration of their demands.

the imprisoned and exiled counsellors. These concessions were bitter: nevertheless, Anne determined to make them, "in the hope of enforcing suitable enactments when the armies of France, liberated from the defence of the frontiers of the realm, might save the crown!"

Monsieur was, therefore, empowered to open a conference with the Parliament in the Luxembourg. Notwithstanding the duke's appeal, the members, especially Broussel and Blancménil, scornfully rejected the Queen's overture; and insisting on their right and resolve to deliberate for the reformation of the realm, called upon the Queen, for the last time, to save the honour of the crown by ratifying all their intended proceedings.* When the Queen learned this summary rejection of her grace, intense anger arose against him who had counselled such concessions—advice, which Mazarin failed not to suggest, had been given to increase the existing embarrassments of the crown.

Some of the older members of the Parliament afterwards expressed regret that the royal *bienveillance* should have been so rudely rejected: "But MM. des Enquêtes," says an old authority, "debated so bravely, and with such lively illustration, that they might be compared to the ancient senators of Rome." The majority of the Chamber, nevertheless, negatived the

* "Broussel et Blancménil, qui parurent les plus animés, désiraient venger, le premier le refus qu'on lui fit d'une compagnie de gardes pour son fils: a l'égard de l'autre (Blancménil) l'alliance qui était entre lui et l'évêque de Beauvais, que Mazarin avait fait exiler."—Mém. de Marie d'Orleans, Duchesse de Nemours. This lady was the strong-minded daughter of the Duc de Longueville, and step-daughter to Anne de Bourbon, who was the second wife of the duke.

royal propositions, and Molé was again deputed, with Talon, to wait upon her Majesty, and again demand her recognition of the assembly in la Chambre St. Louis, and of the Decree of Union. Anne granted this audience at three o'clock, during the afternoon of the 27th of June. She looked pale and depressed, and received Molé and his colleagues with a slight inclination of the head, without offering them her hand to kiss, as was her gracious custom. Molé commenced his harangue with fervour—its words rolled from his lips with vehement emphasis, as he pictured the woes of the realm, the overthrow of the royal power, the revolt of the *bourgeoisie*, and the hostility of the *noblesse*. He assured the Queen that a union of the Chambers was a measure legal and ordinary, and an expedient which had frequently been sanctioned by his Majesty's predecessors; that foreigners and evil-disposed persons would only deny, or distort that fact. He painted in vivid colours the persecutions which members had undergone from the malice of detractors, and the displeasure of the court; he assured the Queen that their sentiments and intentions were loyal, and that they desired to act with the crown, rather than to defy their sovereign. "Madame, revoke, we beseech you, your edicts, and permit us to retain on our registers an act which has been given, and decided by rightful power, and by rigid justice. I implore you to continue to us your royal*

* Harangue de M. le Premier President de Molé. "M. le Premier porta la parole et fit à la reine un discours plein de force, et d'eloquence qu ébranla son esprit."—Hist. du Temps. Omer Talon, the King's eloquent attorney-general, lays stress on the fact that Molé told the Queen that, "*nonobstant touts défenses l'assemblée se fera.*" "La reine," says Madame de

bienveillance during the approaching conferences, and to hold that we are your very humble, and obedient servants." The head of the Queen drooped during this address; when it concluded, and Molé, still panting from excitement, waited her answer, she calmly replied, "that she would send her decision to the Chamber on the following morning, by *les gens du roi*. "The Queen remained *toute interdite*," relates Madame de Motteville; "her Majesty sighed deeply, and seemed quite dazed with the eloquent appeal of our president."

Perceiving that all resources had failed, Anne yielded. On St. Peter's day, 1648, therefore, Molé, accompanied by the attorney-general Talon, and his myrmidons, *les gens du roi*, were summoned to meet the chancellor in her Majesty's cabinet at the early hour of 8 A.M. There they met the Queen, Monsieur, Mazarin, and d'Eméry. The chancellor briefly stated, that "assured of the loyalty and zeal of the Companies, the Queen was pleased at length to sanction their joint assemblies. She admonished them, however, to hasten their labours, in order to replenish the empty exchequer, the demands upon which became daily more urgent. Her Majesty trusted that in return for her compliance with the wishes of the Chamber, that the matter of finance, in which the honour of France was involved, might be expedited."

No exultation was displayed by the triumphant members. The attitude of the Queen was unsatisfactory: her Majesty had yielded, it was true, but all the members felt that she intended it to be seen that her conces-

Motteville, "parut offensée; la remontrance du premier President fut si forte et hardie qu'elle surprit tout les auditeurs."

sion had been compulsory. Between the 30th of June and the 12th of July, twenty-seven articles "for the reformation of the realm" were discussed by the sixty deputies of the Chambre St. Louis, and referred to the assembled courts in Parliament for ratification. Afterwards, each decree was to be presented to the Queen, and enacted by a royal Declaration under the Great Seal. The principal of these articles were:—that the Farmers-General of the realm should be suppressed, as the office was odious, and oppressive to the people: that the tax called *les tailles* should be decreased by a quarter; and all arrears of such remitted to the people: that no taxes should in future be levied on the people of the realm, except by consent of the Parliament of Paris, after free and open discussions, and votes (*avec liberté de suffrages*): that all persons shall be interdicted from levying, and imposing taxes, except after such verification and consent of the said High Court, under penalty of death: that no subject of the King, of whatever rank or condition, shall in future be detained in prison above twenty-four hours without being brought before his natural and legal judge, and his crime stated *in extenso*—all jailors, captains of fortresses, and authorities of the prisons, to be made responsible for, and to suffer the punishment in their own bodies, of the violation of this enactment: that the King, in future, shall not by his sovereign authority create new officers of judicature, or finance, except by edicts previously verified, and passed by the High Court —*avec liberté entière de suffrages.* Other articles related to the levy of taxes, and to the administration of *la domaine royale,*—but were of very minor import to the

articles above mentioned. Without previous concert—without, perhaps, even divining the value and extent of the privileges demanded, the Parliament had struck out a grand charter of constitutional freedom. The Farmers-General were to be deposed: taxes, direct and indirect, were to be levied by the sanction of Parliament, and not, as heretofore, by the absolute authority of the King: personal liberty was secured, and the arbitrary power of the crown in criminal jurisdiction, restrained; finally, the Courts proclaimed their own independence, with liberty of debate. The sale of offices by the crown was forbidden; while that sorest grievance of all, the despotic action of the government, exercised when the King held a *Lit de Justice*, was suppressed. An entire constitution was concealed in the demands, and wording of these enactments; and as such it raised vehement opposition from the government.

The first act passed by the united Chambers was the suppression of the office of Intendant, or Farmer-General of indirect taxes. These functionaries rented the taxes from the state, and paid into the treasury a fixed sum by contract, while they made what they could out of their bargain. The Queen, through Talon, made earnest protest against the abolition of this office:—she pleaded, the vast necessity of the war, and that these Intendants, although they had not yet collected their taxes for the current year, were prepared to advance the sum contracted for; while, if the office were abolished, they, disregarding the urgent wants of the Treasury, having made already considerable advances to the government, must repay themselves by the collection on their own

account of *la taille*, and other taxes. The Chamber continuing obdurate, but promising to discuss the modes of furnishing á revenue for the current year, the members were invited by the Duc d'Orleans to confer with Mazarin at the Luxembourg. "*La Cour*," relates Gondy, "*se sentit toucher a la prunelle de l'œil par le suppression des Intendances.*" The Cardinal, therefore, prepared an oration to avert an event so inconvenient as the withdrawal from the crown of the power of levying taxes; and the privilege of forestalling their amount, through the banks of the receivers-general. No representations could, however, shake the resolve of the deputies: in vain, they were harangued by Monsieur, by Mazarin, and remonstrated with by MM. de Gondy,* d'Elbœuf, and Brissac. In vain, it was represented that the army of Turenne was dissolving; that the Swiss contingent, under the Count d'Erlach, was in open mutiny; that one quarter of the subsidy granted to the Queen of Sweden was due; that M. le Prince pestered the government for supplies; and that the soldiers of the army in Catalonia were perishing from hunger—Molé and the presidents, his colleagues, firmly maintained their point. The only concession that they were willing to make was, that the abolition of the obnoxious offices should be done by royal letters patent, rather than by

* Gondy, though professing profound devotion to Anne of Austria, to whose favour he owed *sa coadjutorie*, was already intriguing in a small way. His house was the rendezvous of Montrésor, Lainez, Fontrailles, Boispille, and of other notorious malcontents. It was whispered that Broussel and Laisné attended the receptions of Gondy. He also corresponded with Châteauneuf, Chavigny, Madame de Chevreuse, and the Duc de Beaufort. Out of these varied elements of discord and riot he hoped to frame a path climbing upwards to supreme elevation.

an independent vote of the Chamber, though that was threatened, if any delay occurred in the issue of the royal decree. The specious eloquence of the Cardinal was also fruitlessly put forth to save the condemned officers from the ordeal of appearing before a committee of the Chamber, to inquire into their alleged peculations. Mazarin increased the feelings of dislike and suspicion with which he was regarded, by his obsequious manner. The men whom a few weeks past he had branded as traitors and madmen, he now greeted as "les Restaurateurs de la France—les Pères de la Patrie!" The rough and homely men of the Courts looked at his deferential salutes, and heard his unctuous words, in wonder. His speeches, so erudite, and polished in language, but so little to the point in debate, mystified them. His pronunciation of their tongue even kindled contempt: and many a doggrel line made merry at the Cardinal's expense, over his uncouth pronunciation of the word *d'union*, which he persisted in calling *d'ognon!* while the word *ruse*, which he was so fond of applying to MM. de la Cour, he pronounced *rouse!* The pleasant, witty *persiflage* which charmed Anne of Austria and the future courtiers of her son, and the polished deprecation with which Mazarin turned aside the sharp thrusts of the magistrates, disappointed his assailants. The Cardinal was accused of want of spirit—and in truth, his humble self-depreciation was very out of character in the mouth of the minister of a despotic princess, like Anne of Austria.

The fall of the Intendants being determined, Mazarin put the question, "How, and from what funds were these functionaries to be repaid, for the taxes already

anticipated, and received by government?" The Chamber had proposed, but not actually resolved, "that the sums so advanced should be declared forfeited; and that the loss should fall on the Intendants." "But, Messieurs," replied Séguier, "that is a breach of public faith!" Le Coigneux rudely replied,* "that the ministry having broken faith with almost all the men of probity and honour in the country, he was surprised that ministers should take up the defence of five thousand rascals, who had often times robbed the King and his people of the amount alleged to be owing to them!" "Her Majesty's council can never sufficiently thank the Parliament for this proposition," replied Mazarin—this being one of his speeches which acted with peculiar recoil on his hearers. "It is true, that the sums we owe, and the interest thereon, which we have tried honestly to pay, press heavily on the King's treasury. We of ourselves should never have dared to repudiate our engagements; but since Parliament is of opinion that such should be done, we may with great benefit accept this solace, to the infinite discharge of the treasury."† The sitting then terminated; Mazarin

* Hist. du Temps. Registres du Parlement. Novion terms these Intendants in his speech, "Gens de basse puissance avec des biens immenses dont la seule possession méritait qu'on leur fit leurs procès!" Yet Novion's son-in-law, Galard, was one of the most wealthy of these Intendants. This Galard had commenced life as a laquais in the service of the Marshal d'Estrées. The eldest son of Molé was likewise an Intendant. There must doubtless have been a great deal of pure patriotism in the agitation of the Parliament.

† Hist. du Temps. Archives Curieuses. Aubéry, Hist. du Card. Mazarin. Registres du Parlement ann. 1648. The Queen, so reluctant in her concessions on other points, approved this notorious bad faith, or at any rate made no remonstrance. She said to de Motteville, "Tous ces desseins de reformation sont un grand mal; cependant ils font revenir plusieurs millions à l'Epargne."

engaging that the Queen should send down a declaration to the Chamber, approving the abolition of the office of Intendant.

M. d'Emery on the same day resigned his office of Controller of Finance, to the general contentment:* all his financial engagements having been repudiated, it was felt that he could no longer appear at the council board. The Marshal de la Meilleraye was sent for by the Queen, and provisionally intrusted with the duties of the office. The unfortunate d'Emery, abandoned by Mazarin, was exiled from Paris, which city he was ordered to quit within two hours. To her friend Madame de Motteville, Anne excused this rigorous award dealt to a once zealous partisan, by the words—"M. d'Emery was hated; and as all persons clamoured for his ruin, it was necessary to satisfy them."† The true reason probably of d'Emery's ignominious expulsion, is to be found in a motion brought before the Chamber by his friends, to the effect, "that all foreigners, or Frenchmen guilty of conveying gold coined, or in ingot, from the realm, should be arraigned and punished." This prohibition Mazarin imagined was levelled at himself, and hence his prompt retaliation on M. d'Emery.

The Queen successively sanctioned with very bad grace, and much previous altercation, the article which forbade "any agent whatever to collect taxes not previously verified, and sanctioned by Parliament"—a rude

* La disgrace d'Emery fut arrêtée entre la reine, Monsieur, et Mazarin.—Motteville.

† The Chambers some weeks previously had presented a petition to the Queen praying for the dismissal of d'Emery.—Registres du Parlement.

blow to arbitrary power. M. Broussel electrified the Chamber by proving, that since the commencement of the Regency the extraordinary sum of two hundred millions had been illegally levied on the people, by the absolute authority of the King. On the article relieving the people from a quarter of *les tailles*, or land tax —also an arbitrary impost—and remitting all arrears since 1646, Anne, after much dispute, found herself compelled to yield. The next question was that called *la sureté publique*—prohibiting arbitrary arrest, and compelling governors of state prisons, and jailers, to bring every prisoner committed to their custody before a court of justice within twenty-four hours after their committal. Upon this article Anne showed determined resistance. "Never, never will I submit the royal power to such shameless fetters. I am weary of these rebels. Let them do their worst!"

To her favourite ladies, Anne confessed that affairs distracted her mind; but that it was her duty to resist the revolutionary spirit, kindled by the evil example of the English Parliament, the members of which, she predicted, would proceed to extremities, startling, and horrifying to the King's subjects! The Cardinal was even more depressed than his royal mistress: one by one the prerogatives of the crown seemed to slip from his unwilling fingers. Sometimes the angry reproaches of his royal patroness affected him deeply. "Ah, Madame, I see that I have incurred your displeasure; I have, alas, failed in my design to serve you: my head must be the forfeit of my ignorance!" Tears dropped from the Queen's eyes as she

replied, "Non, non, Monsieur, I will not visit on you my misfortunes: be assured of my affection, and confidence!". Another day Mazarin begged the Queen to take care of her health, as she looked ill. Anne replied, "that she cared not to die, seeing the bad condition of affairs." The young King happened to be in the room. Louis impetuously threw his arms round his mother's neck—"*Madame, après ma majorité,*"—— the boy paused, for tears choked his voice; but his heightened colour, and clinched hand, evidenced how deeply he felt the acts for which his mother wept. The Cardinal, moreover, stopped his works at the Palais Mazarin; he also dismissed a part of his retinue, and affected primitive simplicity at his table. One day he plaintively said to Madame de Senécé, who still directed the education of his nieces, "that he desired that they might be brought up simply and discreetly; for nobody could predict what might become of him, or them!" Yet Mazarin was neither a coward nor wanting in courage; there were those at court who remembered the gallant and spirited action of the young Giulio Mazarini, who rushed between the two armies of France and Spain at Casale, after the signal for conflict had been given, to stay the battle, until other propositions for peace, just arrived in camp, had been discussed.

In her trouble the Queen's mind continually dwelt on Condé. The campaign in Flanders had not been signalised by splendid victories, and glorious sieges. The army, consisting of 35,000 men, was disaffected, ill paid, hungry, and destitute; the soldiers lost their enthusiasm for conquest, which even the presence of

Condé could not rouse. Courteney was surprised by the Archduke; which counterbalanced the conquest of Yprês by the French. The mind of Condé, moreover, was disturbed by the news from Paris: the revolt of the Parliament, and the violence done to the throne, aroused his angry resentment. Moreover, a feeling of jealous umbrage arose respecting the popularity which Monsieur* was acquiring by his condescending intercourse with the Chamber. The Prince, therefore, resolved to leave the camp, and visit Paris to confer with Anne, who had again anxiously requested his presence. While the French arms abroad were crowned with glory, the King of France, she said, was losing one by one, prerogatives more precious than conquered provinces. Condé sent notice of his approaching arrival through the Marshal de Grammont; but so fearful was Anne of offending Monsieur, and alarming the Parliament, that it was agreed, the arrival of the prince should be declared a surprise. Monsieur, however, when he heard that Condé was on his road to Paris, began to fume, to suspect, and to reproach the Queen; "saying, that after all his services, she wanted another adviser." The Abbé de la Rivière, his favourite, was the bearer of the duke's complaints. The Queen shortly replied, "that M. de Grammont, interpreting words she had carelessly uttered into a desire to see M. le Prince, had advised him to pay a brief visit to Paris." "The least you can do, Madame, then is to dismiss M. le Prince, as he presents himself without

* "Le Parlement témoigna beaucoup de satisfaction du Duc d'Orléans, et de la douceur qu'il avait pour eux dans leurs conférences."

orders!" pertly rejoined La Rivière. The affair ended by Mazarin undertaking to pacify Monsieur, to explain matters, and to assure him, "that her Majesty held him to be her very good, and faithful brother; who, she hoped, would not object to her interview with M. le Prince." Anne, however, gained her point, which was, to consult with Condé on the *coup d'état* she meditated. Their conference lasted for two hours.* The Prince engaged to send a division of troops towards Paris, in aid of the contemplated measures. He advised the Queen to dissimulate her resentment; to leave Paris if possible; and to postpone any overt measure against the Parliament, until he could assist in its execution. Intelligence arriving by express, two days after the prince's arrival in Paris, of the sudden march of the Archduke on Picardy, and the siege of the town of Furnes, Condé took leave of the Queen, and returned to head-quarters, where the Marshal de Grammont had been left in command.

The factious turmoil of the law courts was watched by the citizens of Paris with interest, and wonder. Broussel and the president Blancménil were the leaders of every raid upon the rights of the crown. Some of the more moderate members proposed to append to their resolutions the words, "*sous le bon plaisir de la Reine Régente.*" Blancménil roughly opposed the addition—saying, "that if the Queen did not approve all the resolutions of the Parliament, it was her duty so to do;

* "Le Prince de Condé fut recut de la reine avec un visage riant: et lui dans son cœur était satisfait et content." The Prince dined with Mazarin, and the evening passed in great good humour and jollity.

and therefore, to say so was superfluous." "This year was indeed an infelicitous one for crowned heads," wails Madame de Motteville, overpowered by the rapidity of events, and the despondency of the Queen. Whilst Paris gave the law to the sovereign, the Parliament of England was preparing to indict its King: Naples, driven to revolt by the mad enthusiast Masaniello, threw off, for a brief season, the yoke of Spain. In Sicily, rebellion compelled the viceroy Balbi to fly from Messina; in Turkey the Sultan Ibraham perished by the bowstring of one of his janissaries. War devastated Europe—and only Philip IV. of Spain reposed peacefully in his capital city.

On the 24th of July a royal Declaration was prepared, embodying, with some verbal alterations, all the recent decrees of the Chambre St. Louis—except the one article *de la sureté publique;* and it was resolved by Mazarin, to cut the matter short, that his Majesty in person should present it to his Parliament, and cause the edict as of old, to be registered in his presence. The first clause of the Declaration forbad the Parliament to meet for the discussion of public affairs under pain of the royal displeasure; to which was added, "that the Queen would in future visit all malcontents and contemners of her royal Majesty with heavy pains, and penalties." "I have resolved," said the Queen, "for the sake of concord, to strew roses on the path of MM. de la Cour. I therefore sanction again by my Declaration what I have already verbally sanctioned, but nothing more. If revolt follows, I know how to punish it. At the beginning of this sedition, if I had

only acted on my own opinion, I should have taught *ces Messieurs* their duty, from the very first day that they wandered therefrom. I have now happily vanquished the foolish lenity of M. le Cardinal. As for the evil consequences of decided measures, I laugh at such predictions: rebellion is not so easily accomplished in Paris; my regiments of guards will suffice to suppress revolt at its outset; and if twenty houses or so of the more mutinous citizens are pillaged and burnt, that evil is less than to lose the realm." "In truth, the Queen showed a most craving and determined desire to punish the bold assailants of her authority. She was concerned at the humiliation of the royal dignity; and was provoked that her goodwill and favour, had been disclaimed by the Parliament, while bitterly regretting the concessions she had been persuaded to make." *

On the 30th of July, the young King, with his mother, went to the Chamber to register this Declaration. The previous evening Louis had purposely passed through the streets of Paris on horseback; but cold salutes replaced the enthusiasm with which the people had once received their youthful sovereign. The chancellor read his Majesty's gracious Declaration, which he said embodied the important articles passed by the Chamber; but the very act of the King—in coming down suddenly to the house, and requiring his edict to be registered, without previous liberty of suffrage—was a flagrant outrage on the liberties which the Queen pretended to concede. Murmurs and disdainful

* Mém. de Motteville.

nods were scarcely restrained by the presence of the court. When the accustomed question was put by the chancellor—whether all his Majesty's subjects present were not of opinion that the royal edict should be registered, and executed? several of the counsellors replied—"*nous vous dirons cela demain!*" The young King then commanded the registration of the decree. The gloomy faces of the presidents, and counsellors were not even relaxed when Séguier proclaimed, "that the Queen granted *le droit annuel* for the following nine years, *gratis*, to the King's faithful Companies." "Monsieur," said Queen Anne to Molé, before leaving the Palais de Justice, "I trust that having conceded what I have conceded, you will take care that the odious, and illegal assemblies of the Chambre St. Louis are discontinued!" To Bellièvre, Anne significantly said, "Your court of la Tournelle, Monsieur, must long for your return thither to administer justice to our poor subjects!" The sound of the trumpets of the royal escort as it departed, however, had scarcely died away, before MM. des Enquêtes rushed tumultuously into la Grande Chambre, to demand that the King's Declaration should be examined, and submitted to public suffrage. Molé firmly resisted this outrage, and adjourned the debate until the morrow, amid overpowering clamour.

The Duke of Orleans the following morning was in his place in the chamber to witness the reading of the Declaration, and to stem, if possible, the expected outcry. The Queen's promises therein were unanimously pronounced deceptive: the wording of the articles, as

inserted in the Declaration, modified their action ;— for instance, the Queen promised that all financial decrees should be verified, and registered by the High Court before their promulgation ; but the words "*avec liberté de suffrages*" had been omitted. It was also decided by an immense majority, that no notice should be taken of the royal prohibition against the Union of the courts, until the Declaration had been examined in detail, and the remaining articles, resolved in the Chambre St. Louis, conceded ; especially the article *de la sureté publique.* Monsieur, excited beyond measure by the obduracy of the Chamber, and by the hostile attitude of the Queen, surpassed himself in eloquent deprecation. He threatened to withdraw altogether from the chamber ; and pathetically bewailed that his influence was there so little regarded. "Great, immense, and unexpected concessions have already been made by her Majesty, who, if the Parliament desires more, is rather to be propitiated by submission. Six weeks are wanting before this house is prorogued for the annual vacation. Obey the Queen ; forego your assemblies ; employ this interval, Messieurs, in attending to your judicial functions, having obtained already so much. I ask it as a personal favour ! if you grant this concession, I will ever acknowledge your goodwill. Your forbearance, Messieurs, believe me, may entail more than you imagine." For two days, furious debates ensued. Five times Monsieur went down to the Palais, and regaled the members with agonized expostulation : his zeal for the Queen was not to be surpassed. Broussel, however, that staunch

inexorable demagogue, intervened: to Monsieur's proposition, he appended as an amendment, "That commissioners should be appointed to consider and report on his Majesty's Declaration: meantime, that the debates should proceed upon the articles of the Chambre St. Louis, and continue until the reformation of the realm was complete!" The question was going to be put to the vote, when Monsieur, who had received private instructions from Mazarin, rose and proposed as a further clause: "That, while the commissioners appointed by the Chamber to examine the royal Declaration were engaged in their work of revision, that the general assemblies of the courts should, at his request, be suspended." The duke was popular, and liked by the members; and he showed such significant marks of displeasure at the little deference paid to his opinions, that the Chamber by an unanimous vote decided, "That commissioners should be at once appointed to examine the royal Declaration; meantime, the general assemblies, at the request of Monsieur, should be suspended until after St. Martin's day: and the courts during this interval shall sit in their own halls of audience, occupied in the administration of their separate judicial functions."*

This victory, and brief delay Anne resolved to make the most of: troops were gathering round Paris; and a day was fixed for the arrival of Condé, to take military command of the capital, in obedience to her summons, when the sudden descent of the

* Omer Talon. Mém. t. ii. Hist. du Temps. Registres du Parlement de Paris.

Archduke on the country around the town of Lens, obliged the gallant prince to retrace his way back to head-quarters. Something of Anne's intentions, and sentiments, were suspected by the Parisians; and the popular rage against Mazarin, who was declared to be the inciter of all the mischief, flamed forth. The cardinal dared scarcely stir from the Palais Royal: if he showed himself in public, he was assailed by fierce cries; caricatures were thrown into his carriage; and he was followed from street to street, by ruffians screaming into his ears libellous songs, as sung on all the *carrefours* of the capital. The people hailed the trusted minister of their Queen thus:—

"Maudit, maraut, malicieux,
Sot, superbe, démoniaque,
Avare, asnier malicieux,
Pendard pelé, pernicieux,
Tygre sanglant, tyran et traitre,
Fourbe, faquin, fantasque et plat,
Ribaud, rodomont, rénégat."

Even Mazarin's fair young nieces, the wards of Madame de Senécé, were not exempted from obloquy. Of the Signora Contessa Mariana, of Donna Laura, and Olympia Mancini, the people sang:—

"Vos nièces, trois singes ragots,
Qu'on vit naître de la bésace,
Plus mechants que les vieux Goths,
Prétendent icy quelque place!
Et vous eslevez ces magots,
Pour nous en laisser la race,
Elles avaient fait leurs adieux,
A leurs parents de geuserie
Pour se marier à qui mieux, mieux!"

The old shameful rumours revived, as to the rela-

tions existing between the Regent, and her minister. The most indecent verses on this subject found ready sale in Paris; and one old beldame was arrested in the streets for bawling, at the top of her voice, one of these "couplets," under the windows of the Palais Royal. Mazarin was termed "le custode de la chambre de la Reine; Rat de la cour; Pantalon Rouge," with many more injurious epithets. Neither was his Eminence popular in the palace, with Anne's favourite women. They resented his peremptory intrusions on the privacy of the Queen, and the frequency of his *tête-à-tête* conferences, though these were always holden with open doors. They deemed that half the annoyances which happened to their mistress were owing to her subjection to the timid counsels of Mazarin; and that her own decision, tempered by her fascinating manners, would best serve the royal cause. Even Madame de Motteville, with all her reverence for royalty, and for Anne of Austria especially, approaches the subject of Mazarin with caution; and passes lightly over his "power with her Majesty, the fact of circumstance, and not of the Queen's will." She notes the Cardinal's airs of superiority; his dry retorts if pressed upon a distasteful subject, which frightened the ladies—his utter insensibility to beauty, excepting that of his royal mistress, and his dislike to receive visits from the Queen's maids,—a pastime which Richelieu had encouraged, by pressing delicious refreshments, and splendid gifts on his fair visitors. The lords of the court were perpetually annoying the Queen by little slights to her minister: Mazarin's demureness and pretensions, set

their teeth on edge; and great was their delight when they compelled his Eminence to hunch his back! An unpleasant imbroglio occurred at this season, occasioned by Mazarin's tenaciousness, which ended in the dismissal of three, out of the four captains of the body-guard. While the Queen was at the Val de Grâce one afternoon, Mazarin took the King to hear mass at the Feuillantine monastery. The Marquis de Gêsvres, deputy for his father, M. de Trêsme, chief captain of the guard, attended his Majesty. It so happened that a division of city soldiers was on duty near the monastery; as a grand mass, and procession round the cloisters was to be celebrated. M. de Gêsvres ordered the city guard to retire and give place to the royal guard. High words ensued; swords were finally drawn, and the King's officers fell on the city men, and forcibly compelled them to withdraw. Mazarin, who was present, not having been appealed to by de Gêsvres, conceived high offence at the slight, and retired with his pupil. The Queen being at the Val de Grâce, was informed by Le Tellier of the fray, and promptly ordered that M. de Gêsvres should be cashiered, and his bâton of chief captain given to the Count de Charôst. Meantime M. de Trêsme, hearing of the fracas, hastened to the palace, sent his son home, and taking possession of the bâton, said that, as the latter was his deputy, the Queen's commands could not be obeyed —at any rate, he declined to relinquish his bâton until he had spoken to her Majesty. Anne returned to the palace on the morrow; and was received by the King, unattended by his captain of the guard. The

Queen asked for explanations, and a flush of anger rose to her brow as she listened. She repaired to her closet, and sent for the cardinal. After a conference, the Queen, understanding that Charôst and the Marquis de Chandenier had agreed to refuse the charge of their colleague and chief de Trêsme, she sent for them to her presence. Anne then said, "That her command had gone forth and must be obeyed; for that it was high treason to draw a sword, and to spill blood in the presence of the King. Moreover, M. de Gêsvres had shown great disrespect to M. le Cardinal by giving orders in his presence, his Eminence being first minister of state, and governor of the King. Nevertheless, if she had thought that M. de Trêsme was in Paris, she should probably have commanded him to perform his duty in person, and to dismiss his deputy; but as M. de Trêsme had thought fit to cavil at her commands, she did not intend to relax in her determination to be obeyed, but again ordered M. de Charôst, second in command, to take the bâton, if only for the period of two hours." The Count de Charôst respectfully declining,—inasmuch as in the place of M. de Gêsvres he should have acted as he had done,—the Queen gave the same order to the Marquis de Chandenier, who likewise refused to profit by "a fault of which he approved." "*C'est assez, Chandenier; c'est assez! allez, Messieurs!*" exclaimed Anne, severely.

The noblemen then took leave, her Majesty graciously returning their salute. A few anxious hours elapsed, and it was hoped that the Queen's grace might withstand the Cardinal's resentment. A *lettre de cachet*

exiling the Counts de Trêsme, and de Charôst, and the Marquis de Chandenier, dissipated this hope; they were also deprived of their high offices in the service of the King. The Marquis de Jarzé received the bâton of M. de Charôst; and the Count de Noailles that of M. de Chandenier. Proscriptions, and temporary exiles had shorn the court of Anne of Austria of the splendour of preceding reigns. Mazarin's courtiers were new men, and humble—or juvenile cavaliers of potent families, placed about the person of the King, to be duly trained in the way they were hereafter expected to walk.

Meantime Condé retrieved his temporary eclipse before Lerida and Courteney, by the glorious fight of Lens. Philip IV. had sent strict commands to his general the Archduke Leopold, to force a battle; believing that victory would be certain, from the report sent him of the disorganised condition of the French army, and of the dissensions of its leaders. When Condé was before Lerida, his Catholic Majesty, however, had written to his general, the Marquis d'Aytona, "to avoid by every means a battle with that presumptuous boy!" All kinds of malicious reports were propagated by the Spaniards after their success at Courteney:—the French army they said was skulking towards its own frontier, and the Gazette d'Anvers advertised for news of the enemy, who could nowhere be seen! On the 20th of August, Condé, by a manœuvre, drew the Archduke from his intrenchments on the plain before Lens. Then began the most glorious and celebrated battle of the age. The famed Spanish infantry

maintained its reputation. General Beck, at the head of the cavalry, made charge after charge with splendid valour, but every obstacle vanished before the genius and ardour of Condé. At first the Spaniards had the advantage, and the battle seemed nearly lost. Condé retrieved the day "by one single glance of that eagle eye—an eye, which sees through everything in war, and is never dazzled there." The Spanish troops were defeated, and the army literally destroyed; four thousand men fell on the field; six thousand were made prisoners of war; all the baggage and artillery, and the splendid camp equipage of the Archduke, fell into the hands of the victors. General Beck,* and almost all the officers of the defeated army, including the Prince de Ligne, surrendered. Seventy-three standards were captured, and sent to Queen Anne by her valiant kinsman. The Prince fortunately escaped without a wound. A singular peril, however, befell him at the termination of the conflict. Meeting the Marshal de Grammont his able colleague, on his return from pursuing the enemy, the Generals stopped to embrace. Grammont was congratulating the prince on his victory, when their horses began to fight with such fury, "that they nearly ate up one another, subjecting their riders to such risk, that an officer near was compelled to shoot the Marshal's horse." †

Condé despatched the Count de Châtillon to carry the news to the Queen. When Châtillon arrived, Anne was already in a fever of impatience, and had passed

* Beck died of his wounds at Arras.

† Mém. de Grammont, t. i. p. 292.

a restless day; intelligence having been conveyed to Mazarin, that a continuous roar of cannon had been heard on the frontier, near to Arras, which betokened that an action of some kind had been fought. Anne had retired to bed; at midnight, a rapping at the door of her chamber was heard, and the Marshal de Villeroy announced to Madame de Senécé, "that he had been sent by M. le Cardinal to inform her Majesty that the greatest victory of the age had been won by M. le Prince; and that M. de Châtillon had just arrived in Paris with despatches." Anne in a transport of joy rose from her bed, and commanded that Mazarin, with Châtillon, should meet her in ten minutes' time in her closet. The victory of Lens, in her eyes, was not only a triumph over the Catholic King, but also the defeat of her rebels of Paris. When the young King was informed of the victory, Louis clapped his little hands with joy, exclaiming, "Ah! how sorry our good MM. de la Cour will be at the news!"

The great war which had ravaged Europe nearly Thirty years had been terminated by the prowess of a young hero of twenty. After so notable a triumph, the slow negotiations always pending at Munster must issue, it was foreseen, in glorious peace. A Te Deum was ordered to be sung at Notre Dame. The court invited the Parliament, and every corporation, civil and religious, of the capital, to be present at the national thanksgiving, and to witness the solemn consecration of the captured banners. The 26th of August, 1648, was the day fixed by the Queen—a day also destined to witness, as she secretly hoped, the condign chastisement

of certain members of the King's disloyal Parliament. Against the advice of Mazarin,* Anne had resolved, under the sunshine of this victory, to accomplish a grand stroke—namely, the arrest of the Presidents de Blancménil, and de Charton, the counsellor Broussel, and his colleagues Lainé, Benoit, and Loysel—ring-leaders of the sedition of the Chamber. Broussel especially, had been the proposer of all the measures most galling to the court: a democrat to the backbone, and the pet of the taverns of the capital, he affected greater sternness, and simplicity. Broussel's circumstances were poor, and his entire life had been spent in melancholy gropings through the halls of the courts. His latest offence in the eyes of the Queen was having strenuously supported a petition from the Duc de Vendôme, and his son, M. de Beaufort; who, affecting to accept the *article de la sureté publique*, and to regard it as law, prayed the chamber to command that an examination into the circumstances of their imprisonment, and exile should be instituted. The Cardinal wisely proposed to await the arrival of Condé; or to demonstrate, what in his opinion was most politic, a generous intention not to take advantage of the enthusiasm kindled by the victory, to molest the High Court. The sins and enterprises of the members were so seared into the Queen's heart, that no intercession availed. In after years Louis XIV. eulogised his mother's wisdom, and

* "Sa Majesté proposa elle-même au cardinal l'arrestation de Broussel et de Blancménil, et luy témoigne là-dessus une extraordinaire fermeté. Il y consentit, par ce qu' il ne le sceut empêcher. Il ne peut néanmoins dissimuler que ce n'étoit nullement son avis, pour les raisons qu'il allegua."—Aubéry, Hist. du Cardinal Mazarin, liv. x. p. 507.

firmness on this occasion; asserting that, had she been properly supported, the page of history never would have been sullied by a record of the follies, and extravagancies of La Fronde. Anne confided her intentions to the Duke of Orleans, to Le Tellier, and to her faithful servant, M. de Brienne: to all besides profound mystery was observed, the Queen speaking affably of her foes, and appearing to rejoice in the prospect of a general pacification, military and civil. The coadjutor de Gondy, was one of Anne's dupes on this occasion. "I went to the palace," relates he, "on the news of the victory of Lens: the Queen's delight was inconceivable; the Cardinal showed more moderation. They both, however, affected extraordinary placability; and the Cardinal observed, that he was pleased at the opportunity of showing the Companies that he was far from entertaining the vengeful projects attributed to him; for that the success of the King's arms had rather mollified the Queen's sentiments than otherwise. I allow that I was their dupe; I believed, and rejoiced!" The next day being Sunday, and St. Louis's Day, Gondy preached before the King, taking for the theme of his sermon the political will of St. Louis. Mazarin, in his bland tones, afterwards thanked the young coadjutor for his excellent sermon, which inculcated on the King's mind the admirable policy of showing regard for the great towns of the realm.* The coadjutor, who then piqued himself on his loyal fidelity to the Queen, had during the course of this troublous

* The Queen designated this discourse, however, as seditious and impertinent!

summer, given Mazarin, and his mistress hints of their excessive unpopularity in the city; and of the ferment which existed in men's minds on political matters, which warning had been very badly received. Gondy, moreover, the vainest of men, had smarted under the taunts of his Eminence, who, on one occasion, illustrated the lesson he intended to bestow on the aspiring young Abbé, by reciting a fable of Æsop in full circle. The assurance from Gondy, that the Cardinal did not intend on the occasion of the victory, *de remonter sur sa bête*, as de Chavigny expressed it, imparted much comfort to many of the King's counsellors.

The morning of the 26th dawned. Anne sent for Comminges, lieutenant of the guard, and her faithful adherent, and commanded him, on the termination of the religious ceremonial to arrest MM. de Blancménil, Charton, Broussel, Lainé, and others. The regiments of the guards, as usual on occasions of state, were placed in line from the Palais Royal, to Nôtre Dame; battalions of troops held the Pont Neuf, and the Place Dauphine, and the Porte de la Conférence, which was close to the garden of the Tuileries. The members of the High Court, marching two and two, entered the church before her Majesty, and took their allotted seats. The ceremony was splendid; the Coadjutor de Gondy, the Cardinal Mazarin, and other prelates, ministered at the altar. The banners of the conquered army lay on the steps of the altar, a glorious heap. The Queen declared that never were more fervent prayers put up to Heaven for the success of her design than she offered; and that a sense of freedom and

joy possessed her as she left the church. Anne whispered to M. de Comminges as she passed, "Go, do your duty; and may God prosper our design!" Comminges, skilful in a coup-d'état, had made every preparation; he left the arrest of Blancménil, Charton, Lainé, and the other counsellors to exempts of the guards, reserving to himself the more difficult capture of M. Broussel, for whose rescue the mob of Paris might possibly rise. Meantime, Le Tellier approached Comminges, and exhorted him to hasten measures, as the King was now safely arrived at the palace. The presence of the King's lieutenant, however, in Nôtre Dame after the departure of the court, aroused suspicion. The etiquette always observed, compelled him to precede his Majesty from the church, and escort him to the palace. Anxious faces, and whispers, were seen and heard along the line of counsellors; the scarlet robes fluttered, and the august assemblage presently rose *en masse*. The panic increased; and the men who had shown so firm and uncompromising an attitude in resisting their King, fled in wild agitation from the church, the doors being apparently not numerous enough, or wide enough, for their hurried exit. Lainé, Benoit, and Loysel, and the President de Charton, thus escaped their fate; as, instead of returning home, they, with many other members, took refuge in friendly houses, and remained hidden for some hours, thus eluding the search for their capture. M. de Blancménil was less fortunate: he was arrested as he was walking leisurely from the cathedral, and conveyed to the fortress of Vincennes, being on his

way thither, before Comminges had quitted Nôtre Dame. The arrest of Broussel had now to be achieved. Placing himself at the head of some thirty soldiers, Comminges set off on foot, being preceded by a coach and escort. Broussel lived in a narrow little street on the banks of the river,—a populous part of the city, but swarming with that class of the King's subjects whom Anne was often heard to term "*canaille.*" The back of his abode looked on the river; and beneath the windows was a wharf, a favourite resort of bargemen. The coach drawn by four horses, stopped at Broussel's door. Comminges knocked, and was immediately admitted by a boy, who when he perceived the soldiers with their gleaming swords, uttered a yell of dismay, and fled up the stairs followed closely by the Queen's lieutenant. Broussel was quietly dining with his son, his daughter, and an old housekeeper; he sat in dishabille, wearing a black gown and slippers, and under pretext of indisposition, had slyly excused himself from being present at the ceremony in Nôtre Dame. Comminges explained that he was the bearer of her Majesty's warrant for his arrest; and if Broussel was wise, he would submit, and depart quietly. Broussel turned pale, and trembled, asking respite on account of his indisposition. The old woman, meantime, with furious gestures, vowing that her master should not be made a prisoner, rushed to a window, and shouted—"*Au secours! au secours! holà*—to the rescue of the Father of the People!" Soon, people began to stir; the shrieks of Broussel's terrified household attracted the attention of groups of watermen who were loung-

ing below on the wharf. The little street presently swarmed with people, who surrounded the coach with its attendant soldiers. When it was understood that the Queen, or rather M. Mazarin, had commanded Broussel to be carried off, the fury of the people took the practical turn of cries, groans, and blows. Showers of stones were hurled at the coach, and several burly men made a dash at the horses to cut the traces. Comminges hearing the commotion without, seized Broussel in his arms, and cutting short his adieus and plaints, carried him to the street, and flung him into the coach, which immediately moved away. Amid a rain of stones, and imprecations, the cavalcade slowly proceeded, a way having been forced by the soldiers. Comminges sat within the coach, holding the point of his sword to the breast of his prisoner, who was half dead with terror, and totally incapable of seconding the resistance of his friends. At the end of the street a chain had been stretched—an ominous sight for public tranquillity. Nothing dismayed, Comminges bravely executed his mission. On the Quai des Orfèvres the coach broke down, one wheel having been shattered by an immense paving-stone. With yells of delight the mob rushed upon the coach, after a sharp fight with the soldiers, who were quickly overpowered. On the adjacent Pont Neuf, however, troops mounted guard, and held the bridge. Comminges stepping forward, shouted *"à moi, mes compagnons, à moi!"* Frantic appeals were meantime made to the prisoner to throw himself from the coach. The poor old man raised his white head deprecatingly, and made a gesture towards

the strong hand of Comminges, which still grasped his doublet. A few moments of suspense elapsed—then the Queen's guards from the Pont Neuf came down upon the rioters, and with right good will, drove them from the Place, and surrounded the prisoner. Madame d'Effiat at this inopportune moment appeared in her coach at the end of the street. Comminges thereupon ordered the coach to be seized for the King's service; and Madame la Maréchale was, therefore, compelled to alight, and yield it for the transport of M. Broussel.

The *cortége* then continued its route amid hootings, and cries of rage. In the rue St. Honoré the wheel of the coach again broke: the line of march, however, was there kept by soldiers. Guitaut, captain of the Swiss Guard, surmising that probably some such accident might occur, had provided another vehicle, which waited at the corner of the street. A third start was then made: no further obstacle arresting the progress of Comminges and his prisoner, they halted at the château de Madrid, in the Bois de Boulogne, where Broussel was offered refreshment, and provided with a cloak and shoes. The escort was increased to a hundred men, who conducted the prisoner to the château of St. Germain en Laye, which the Queen had ordained to be Broussel's first resting-place, *en route* to the distant fortress of Sédan.*

Henrietta Maria, Queen of England, was at this

* Aubéry, Hist. du Temps; Journal de Paris—Mém. de Guy Joly, de Motteville, de Retz, de la Rochefoucauld; Registres du Parlement de Paris, ann. 1648; Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville, No. 32; Archives du Royaume; Relation de ce qui s'eut passé à la sedition arrivée à Paris, l'an 1648; Bibl. Imp. 49,806.

period residing at St. Germain. During the evening she sent to Comminges, and asked if she might speak with the prisoner? Henrietta was thereupon conducted to the room in which Broussel was confined. Her gracious manner and sympathy, comforted the poor prisoner, who, valiant in the arena of debate, and when surrounded by friends, had now fallen into gloomy depression. Henrietta promised to speak in his behalf to Queen Anne;—but gently reproached him for a licence of language and action, which led on others less judicious, to crime, and to open treason. "The insurrection in Great Britain, Monsieur, commenced from less overt actions, and disaffection: Ah! you see in me to what deplorable straits sedition may arrive! Monsieur, I pray you defend our beloved France from such peril—from such perdition!"

CHAPTER VI.

1648.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA DURING LA JOURNÉE DES BARRICADES.

M. DE COMMINGES and his escort were followed by a mob of ruffians, shrieking "that Broussel, their Father, their Liberator, their Protector," was being carried off to perdition, until the coach rolled on to the Pont Neuf, where troops drawn across the pavement, repulsed the people with bayonets. "*On enlève, M. Broussel! aux armes, aux armes, bourgeois!*" Meantime, the Île Nôtre Dame was in uproar; swarming from every street and alley, came forth crowds of assailants to defend the Parliament, and to rescue *leur bon ami Broussel.* The shops were closed, and citizens armed to the teeth appeared at the doors to fight for their lives and property. The Quai des Orfèvres was the grand rallying point, where a demagogue harangued a mob of people, amid cheers of approbation, and groans for le Mazarin; while a crowd of women and children, surrounded the royal coach, which had broken down while conveying the prisoner, and breaking it to pieces, hurled the fragments into the river.

Tidings of the sedition, meantime, reached the Palais

Royal. The guard was immediately doubled; and the Queen's new captains, MM. de Jarzé and de Noailles, had opportunity for the display of judgment, as well as valour. Anne's ladies describe themselves as chilled with terror when the horrible sounds of sedition approached nearer and nearer. The Queen was walking in her long gallery alone, when Guitaut rushed to inform her that the populace had broken through the lines of Swiss posted on the Pont Neuf, and were then advancing to the Rue St. Honoré—the people being persuaded that Broussel had been conveyed to the Palais Royal. Through the open windows, borne on the soft summer breeze, Anne listened to the distant tumult; but not a throb of fear unnerved her, or a regret that she had followed the promptings of her own will, rather than the wiser counsels of Mazarin. She desired Guitaut to summon the Marshal de la Meilleraye: the latter promptly appeared, having with other of the Queen's privy councillors hurried to the palace on the news of the arrests. "M. de la Meilleraye," said the Queen, calmly, "take two hundred Swiss guards, and go and chastise those unmannerly churls!" Not a word more did Anne vouchsafe to utter; but turning unconcernedly to the window, she drew Guitaut's attention to the supple grace of figure displayed by the young King, who was playing at quoits in a courtyard below.

The Marshal de la Meilleraye therefore sallied forth, driving all stragglers before him. With difficulty he forced his way across the Pont Neuf, on to the Quai des Orfèvres. The good Marshal, who had little experience in street

fights, and who could scarcely sit on his horse for gouty pains, rode in advance of his Swiss sword in hand, expostulating, or replying with good-natured repartee to the fierce threats which assailed him. At the opening of the Rue Neuve St. Louis, towards which the Marshal had succeeded in driving the mob, he was suddenly confronted by a second concourse of workmen, butchers, and watermen, advancing, armed with every kind of weapon, and making the streets ring with wild shouts for Broussel. Thus reinforced, the mob driven from the Pont Neuf, rushed back upon the Marshal and his soldiers, who were soon surrounded, being neither able to advance, nor to recede. Stones then began to whirl in every direction: the soldiers were pitilessly pelted from the adjacent windows; while two women seized La Meilleraye by the legs, one of whom was recognised as Broussel's old woman servant. "On to the Palais Royal for the rescue of Broussel! *Vive le Roy tout seul! Vive Broussel!*" La Meilleraye and his men were gradually forced backwards on to the Pont Neuf again, where the peril of the Marshal's position was much increased. Incensed at the rough treatment to which he was subjected, and probably alarmed lest the ferocious mob should execute its threat to pull him from his horse and hurl him into the river, La Meilleraye imprudently discharged a pistol, the ball of which mortally wounded one of his assailants, a street porter, who fell to the ground. A fierce rush was thereupon made at the Marshal, who, already wounded on the shoulder and the head, would doubtless soon have been torn to pieces.

At this critical moment, a diversion was made by the unexpected presence of the young coadjutor de Gondy, who, borne, with cheers, over the heads of the populace, daintily alighted, dropped on his knees by the side of the dying man, and began to confess, and shrive him. Gondy appeared wearing a splendid cope and pontificals, just as he had quitted Nôtre Dame.* Learning that a seditious uproar was raging in the city, and the imminent peril of La Meilleraye, Gondy, confident in his own popularity, quitted the archiepiscopal palace on foot, and soon reached the scene of conflict, where he arrived at a very opportune moment. The wounded man being borne from the throng, Gondy boldly mounted on the parapet of the bridge, and harangued the mob. His words were drowned in clamorous demands for Broussel. "Go, M. le Coadjuteur, bring him back to us. Go!" Gondy answered, "that the Queen would do justice; and that the people ought to confide in her equity!"—"I was in my cope and chasuble, just as I left Nôtre Dame," relates de Gondy, "when the furious mob howled out its demands." Meantime, the Marshal de l'Hôpital succeeded in advancing with a few soldiers from the Rue St. Honoré, to the Pont Neuf. The populace, therefore, opened a way for her Majesty's guards, and quietly suffered La Meilleraye to depart,† on receiving a solemn promise from the co-

* "M. le coadjuteur était tout habillé en soye, avec rochet, et camail."—Relation de ce que s'est passé de plus remarkable en la sedition arrivée à Paris le 26 Août, 1648; Bibl. Imp. MS. No. 9866.—Journal du Parlement de Paris.

† "Ils lui jetterent des pierres, le chargerent de milles injures, et en le menacant firent des imprecations horribles contre la Reine, et contre son ministre, qui eussent mérité le gibet si le Roi eut été le maitre, et si la Reine

adjutor to repair at once to the Palais Royal, and demand Broussel from the Queen. At the base of the statue of Louis Treize in the Place Royale, Gondy paused; raising his arms aloft, he then gave a solemn benediction to the motley throng, all persons in view of the prelate devoutly dropping on their knees.*

According to his promise, Gondy accompanied the Marshal de la Meilleraye to the palace, where they both resolved to inform the Queen of the serious nature of the *émeute.*

At the Palais Royal, Anne sat in her presence-chamber, attended by the chief personages in whom she confided, and by Mazarin; and from time to time, intelligence was brought to her concerning the progress of the sedition. The ladies of the court laughed and jested, on the singular infatuation of the people for *leur Broussel.* Anne looked grave but resolute, and spoke scoffingly of the *émeute.* She averred that insurrection was impossible, incredible; and looking defiantly round, declared that nothing should induce her to yield one iota of the King's authority to mutinous clamour. Her Majesty bravely rebuked the alarm, and heart-quakings of some of her ministers; and seemed more inclined to jest with the Abbé de la Rivière, and with M. de Beautru, than to sympathise with the pallid nervousness of Monsieur, or the dejected countenance of Mazarin.

As the Marshal de la Meilleraye and Gondy entered the Queen's saloon, the Coadjutor overheard M. de

par une vengeance particulière eut été capable de faire mourir quelqu'un."—Motteville, an 1648.

* Journal du Parlement.

Beautru whisper loudly in her Majesty's ear, "Madame, here comes M. le Coadjuteur, *in pontificalibus*—your Majesty is so sick at heart, that he is bringing you Extreme Unction!" Mazarin stepped to the Queen, and touched her shoulder, to prevent her retort; as Gondy, whom she did not see, was close to her chair: nevertheless, the Coadjutor heard, and drew the natural conclusion, that the Queen ridiculed him in private amongst her confidential friends. "The Queen received me neither well nor ill; she was too proud, and too angry, to feel confusion at the deception which she had practised on me: there were present Monsieur, Cardinal Mazarin, the Duc de Longueville, the Marshal de Villeroy, MM. de la Rivière, de Beautru, Guitaut, and de Nogent. I introduced myself," continues Gondy, who gives the scene in Anne's cabinet with wonderful vividness of style, "by saying, that I was there to receive the Queen's commands, promising to do my utmost to contribute to public peace, and tranquillity. The Queen made a little gesture with her head to thank me; but I was afterwards informed that she had taken offence at my speech. The Marshal de la Meilleraye, perceiving that la Rivière, Beautru, and Nogent, treated the matter as a bagatelle, and even with ridicule, became angry, and speaking forcibly on the condition of the capital, appealed to me to confirm his words. This I did, corroborating all his assertions; and predicting that more rioting would ensue. The Cardinal smiled malignantly; but the Queen went into a passion, saying, in angry, and shrill tones:*—'It is revolt to

* "La reine se mit en colère, proferant de son ton de fausset, aigre, et elevée,

imagine that revolt can happen; we hear only the ridiculous stories of those, who wish for revolt! the authority of the King will soon restore order!' The Cardinal, who judged by the expression of my countenance, that I was rather disturbed at such a rejoinder, replied to the Queen, in a soft persuasive tone, 'Would to God, Madame, that every one spoke with sincerity like M. le Coadjuteur! he fears for the safety of his flock; he trembles for the city; he trembles for the authority of your Majesty. I am persuaded that the peril is not so imminent as he would represent; nevertheless, his doubt on this matter is praiseworthy!'" Gondy then relates, how the Queen, warned to be conciliatory by the jargon of his Eminence, assumed a more gracious manner; though no one, he asserts, at this memorable conference, showed himself in his true character. The Cardinal played the courageous, and was very much the reverse; the Queen pretended to be gentle and courteous, and never was more irritable; M. de Longueville seemed to grieve, but rejoiced; M. d'Orleans talked to the Queen in language animated and fervent, but when in the adjacent chamber, laughed and whistled with *nonchalance*.* Presently Séguier entered, pale and unsteady in gait, and testified to the uproar without. M. Vannes, a lieutenant-colonel of the Swiss, moreover, appeared in breathless haste, to inform her Majesty that sedition was now raging round the palace; and that a band of ruffians had menaced the royal guard, unless Broussel was produced. "Give me, Madame, permis-

* ces propres paroles." Gondy, however, is never sparing of his abuse of Anne of Austria, whom he hated for her want of appreciation of his own qualities.

sion to make a levy of all available help; let me enrol your household officers, your servants, and all the cavaliers lounging in your ante-chamber, and my life for it, but we will put this *canaille* to flight!"—"Right, M. Vannes!" exclaimed Anne, rising with sparkling eyes; "with such mettle as yours should the King's officers be inspired!" Again Mazarin cautiously interposed by quoting M. de Senneterre, who had just entered the presence, and had brought the refreshing intelligence that the tumult was decreasing, and the people dispersing. Guitaut, meantime, an old and faithful servant, and one of the private clique, approached his royal mistress, after speaking earnestly for some minutes to the Coadjutor; who, affronted at the disdain with which he had been received, had retired from the circle. "Well, M. Guitaut," said Mazarin sharply, "and what is your counsel?"—"My counsel," replied Guitaut, "is to restore this old scoundrel Broussel to the people, either dead, or alive." This insinuation fired the blood of Gondy, the hero of the Paris *carrefours*. "M. Guitaut," said he, "your first proposal will not, we are sure, accord with the piety, and prudence of the Queen; your second expedient might allay the tumult." The eyes of the Queen flashed with anger—"Ah! I understand you, M. le Coadjuteur! You wish me to restore this Broussel. Ah! but I would sooner strangle him myself with my two hands!"——here the Queen made a gesture, raising her hands to the neck of the indignant prelate;* "and with him, all"—— Anne paused

* "Elle me les porta presque au visage, en ajoutant—— 'Et ceux qui——'"

in her vehemence: "but I believe," relates Gondy, "that she was going to pour upon my devoted head the full vials of her wrath and hatred, had not M. le Cardinal again whispered something in her ear, after which she became cool, affable, and friendly." Every moment some fresh arrival brought a tale of confusion, and distraction to the indignant ears of Anne of Austria, who obstinately refused to believe that danger existed. At length the Duc de Montbazon, governor of Paris,* sent to request audience of her Majesty. He entered the presence pale, and bespattered with mud, having had to run the gauntlet of popular fury through several streets. He had been requested by the loyal municipal authorities to demand the liberation of M. Broussel; otherwise the safety of the city would be seriously compromised, "and the King, Madame, no longer safe even in his Palais Royal." A hurried, urgent discussion was then holden; Mazarin wishing to stave off humiliating concession, and being by no means certain that the Queen would confirm his decision, proposed that the affair of M. Broussel should be postponed until the morrow; meantime, that the populace should be told by MM. de la Meilleraye, and de Gondy, that the Queen would surrender the prisoner, provided that the people dispersed without committing further outrage. Mazarin added, that nobody could discharge this mission more gracefully, and effectually than M. le Coadjuteur, "whose influence with the Paris

* This was the first time during the barricades that the Governor of Paris showed himself. Terrified at the émeute, and feeling incapable of serving his sovereign, the Duke took to his bed, feigning an attack of gout. The Provost of Paris, nevertheless, persisted in sending to the Duke's hotel for formal orders, rejoicing in this display of the incapacity of his chief.

populace had already been manifested!" Gondy vainly deprecated this influence, and tried to excuse himself from so perilous a mission; he perceived its malice—and the gleam which lighted up Mazarin's eyes as he spoke. The Queen also, sat silent, with a frown on her brow, and made no sign, whether or not, the proposition of her minister was acceptable. "I will accompany M. le Coadjuteur," exclaimed M. de la Meilleraye, cheerfully; "your Majesty shall soon perceive that he will accomplish wonders!"—"We shall doubtless accomplish all that you predict, Monsieur," replied Gondy irritably, "provided that the Queen will give us a written promise to liberate the prisoners. Believe, Madame, that I have not influence enough with the people to induce them to lay down arms, on my own word, and promise." A clamour of deprecation then arose; all uniting in asserting, that the power of M. le Coadjuteur was well known; that his popularity was unbounded; and that no one could claim a tithe of the influence which he possessed over the turbulent demagogues of the sections. Inexpressibly annoyed, and even alarmed, at the evil power attributed to him, Gondy commenced an expostulation, at the first word of which, Anne rose from her chair, and with every symptom of angry scorn, crossed the apartment, and entered her little grey chamber, slamming the door violently after her. A few moments of silence followed this undignified retreat. Monsieur then said, in a coaxing tone, gently pushing Gondy—"Go, go, dear M. le Coadjuteur! go, and give us, with the realm, peace!"—"Allons, M. le Coadjuteur; you only can heal this wound. Allons!" exclaimed de la Meille-

raye. The presence of mind of Gondy did not falter; nor was he troubled by the mocking laughter, and glances of those around. Some of the courtiers joined in Monsieur's entreaty, others whispered, and indulged in satirical gestures; others imitated the outcry made by Broussel's "old beldame," at his arrest,—never was there confusion so unparalleled in the presence chamber of a prince. Gondy, with M. de la Meilleraye then quitted the chamber. "I resolved," relates he, "to tell the people that the Queen had promised me to liberate the prisoners; but not to be her guarantee."

Another sortie therefore was made. Leaving the Coadjutor, the Marshal de la Meilleraye suddenly placed himself at the head of a squadron of light horse, and advanced along the Rue St. Honoré, waving his naked sword, and proclaiming the clemency of the Queen—"*Vive le Roi! Liberté à Broussel!*" The sight of the Marshal's sword, however, produced hostile effects—it was seen, where his words could not penetrate. The mob therefore again closed round the unfortunate Marshal, who, in self defence, presently ordered a volley to be fired by his soldiers, which killed a woman, and three men. With shouts of defiance the people fled to the Croix de Trahoir, from whence four streets diverged. There la Meilleraye found the Coadjutor wrestling in the midst of a furious *mêlée*. In the precincts of the Palais Royal he had been hailed with uproarious cheers; and was seized, and found himself at the Croix de Trahoir, even before he had missed his colleague, the Marshal. Missiles rained from the adjacent houses, as the people shouted, "Broussel! Broussel!

Point de Mazarin! Vive le Roi tout seul! Parlez, M. le Coadjuteur!" Gondy was beginning to speak, when a band, attracted by the sound of firearms, rushing from the Rue de Prouvaires, armed with halberts and muskets, fired on the Marshal's escort.* M. de Fontrailles, who rode on the left hand of M. de la Meilleraye, had his arm fractured by a ball: one of the followers of the Coadjutor was killed; while Gondy himself was felled to the ground by a blow from a stone, which struck him behind the ear. With a fierce oath, one of the insurgents, a ragman by trade, rushed on the prostrate prelate, and put a pistol to his ear. In a moment the troublous career of Gondy would have been ended, had it not been for his wonderful presence of mind. "*Ah! malheureux!*" exclaimed he, "stay! Oh, if your father could only see you!" "The man raised himself, believing that I was an intimate friend of his father; but, looking at me attentively, asked whether I was not M. le Coadjuteur?" The name attracted the attention of those nearest; the mob flew to the rescue of its champion, and the Coadjutor was tenderly raised by a hundred mud-begrimed hands. During the tide of popular sympathy for the Coadjutor, the Marshal de la Meilleraye contrived to retreat on to the Place Royale, from whence he returned to the palace. Gondy, meantime, was carefully borne to the Marché Neuf; where,

* "En même temps, parurent le lieutenant civil, le lieutenant criminel, et le Prévôt des marchands; mais ces magistrats furent bientot rechassez, ne s'etant même sauvés que par un miracle. Le même peuple enfonca les portes et les boutiques dans la rue St Denis, et de St. Honoré, avec menaces de tout piller, si tout le monde ne se mettait en etat de ravoir M. Broussel."—Hist. du Temps, 1647, 1648.

having somewhat recovered, he harangued the termagant *mêlée* so effectually, that they promised to a man to lay down arms, and disperse, provided that he engaged his word for the liberty of M. Broussel; who, they said, was forthwith to be liberated from durance in the Palais Royal. Followed by thirty or forty thousand insurgents, Gondy was escorted to the Palais Royal, and commanded to make known "to Madame Anne the will of the people." There he was first greeted by M. de la Meilleraye, who hailed him as his deliverer, to whom he had been twice indebted during this eventful afternoon for life. "Madame, I owe my life to M. le Coadjuteur! To the sympathy of the people for their future archbishop, you owe the rescue of your guard, and perhaps the safety of the Palais Royal!" said the Marshal, when they stood again in the Queen's presence. Anne smiled "her ambiguous smile," but said nothing. "Madame," began the Coadjutor, "believe me that I am compelled to be the harbinger of evil tidings; the people demand M. Broussel. Paris, penitent and submissive, however, throws itself at the feet of your Majesty." "Paris is guilty—and not at all penitent!" retorted the Queen. "Besides, if the people have been furious, as you have reported to me, how is it that these people so suddenly repent?" "Madame," interposed the Marshal de la Meilleraye, "we cannot, and dare not flatter you at such a juncture. On my life and honour, if you do not liberate this Broussel, or else call more troops into this city, to-morrow there will not be a stone standing of all the edifices of the capital." Gondy confirmed the statement; but the Queen, rising, with

glittering eyes, said ironically, "Good evening, M. le Coadjuteur. Go and repose, Monsieur; you have done your work well!" Furious and mortified, Gondy, who throughout the day had energetically served the King, quitted the presence. Trusting to the false and flattering reports brought to her, Anne persisted in refusing belief to the fact, that the insurrection menaced, not only the safety of Paris, but the life of the King. The influence of M. de Gondy over the people, was an additional aggravation. Anne hated, and suspected the Coadjutor—a man, who was never at a loss to initiate, or to veil a political intrigue; and who, by the glibness of his retorts, possessed the power to disconcert her favoured minister. In the very arrogance, and fervour of her contempt for a clamorous *canaille*, Anne resolved, with all the innate fearlessness of her character, *de tenir bon*, to yield nothing; and in very deed, rather to strangle M. Broussel, as she had indicated by her significant gesture, than to yield her prisoner.

Meantime the Coadjutor, faint and exhausted from long fasting, and the pain of his wounds, attempted to avoid the mob by leaving the palace by a back entrance, at which his friends MM. de Laigues and de Montrésor waited with a coach. The people, however, who in the Rue St. Honoré patiently waited his report, managed to intercept him on his way back to the episcopal palace, and surrounding the coach, insisted that the Coadjutor should alight, and give an account of his ambassage. Gondy, therefore, mounted on the driving-box, in order to make himself audible. He stated, that her Majesty was gracious, and willing to comply with their request,

provided that each man laid down arms, and retired; "Messieurs, her Majesty in fact told me that was the sole and only way by which she could be induced to yield." This assurance somewhat pacified the people—the more especially as it was their supper time: they, however, proceeded to stretch chains across the Rue St. Honoré, and at the *embouchure* of all the streets leading to the palace, to prevent the carrying off of Broussel; who, they were persuaded, lay hidden a captive in some private dungeon of the palace.

In other parts of the capital, riot and excitement had also been immense. The tocsin of St. Landry tolled hoarsely; shouts of "Arm! arm!" resounded through all the city streets; showers of mud, stones, and offal, rained on Anne's unfortunate Swiss guards, now drawn up in battle array from the Tuileries, to the gate of the Palais Royal,* who, obedient to orders, stood to arms, without making reprisal. A band of ruffians, armed with blunderbusses, pikes, and arms of the most obsolete description,† marched to the house of the first president Molé, and, without previous parley, smashed in the windows. They had just applied a petard to blow open the door, when Molé presented himself with fearless courage. A rush was then made at the president: some of his assailants clutched his beard, others seized him by the hair of his head; several held their muskets in his face—all deafened him

* There were about 2000 of these troops.

† One child dragged about a heavy lance, a relic of Agincourt; another man had put on body armour, to which was affixed the portrait of Jacques Clement, the assassin of Henry III.; under the portrait was the inscription, "Saint Jacques Clement," a memento of the fanatical fury of the League. Gondy caused this suit of armour to be broken up on a blacksmith's anvil.

with frantic shouts for Broussel. Molé, being presently permitted to speak, promised the rescue of Broussel on the morrow; saying "that he would assemble the Chamber to implore, and if need be compel, the assent of the Queen." As Molé expressed himself in language forcible enough to content the demagogues, the mob released him; and with fierce threats, in case he proved false to his engagement, they marched to the house of one M. Catalan, an ardent royalist, which they intended to pillage, and burn. Fortunately, this Catalan, being one of the notables of Paris, was defended by a city guard; upon ascertaining which, the mob retreated back to the Quai des Orfèvres. Darkness at length set in, and wearied with turmoil, the people began to disperse. The movement, as yet, had no organisation, no recognised leaders: the prosperous citizens, though armed for the defence of their property, had taken no overt part in the fray. Some hundreds of the rabble bivouacked for the night on the Quai des Orfèvres, lighting huge fires. The Queen had predicted, "this insurrection is like a fire of straw—it will blaze, and spend itself."

In the Palais Royal at ten o'clock, Anne sat down to sup, and conversed merrily concerning the events of the day. Her Majesty rallied her ladies on their excessive fear; and laughed at the adventures of M. le Coadjuteur, which she imprudently interspersed with comments of great severity. The repast over, Anne held council, at which summary measures were concerted, and devised: and a mandate was despatched requiring the presence of the Chancellor early on the following morning. During the session of the council,

Mazarin's nieces departed from the palace, being sent by the Queen to the Val de Grâce as a safe refuge. They left at midnight, escorted by a few guards, the streets being tolerably tranquil; and fortunately reached their haven without insult.

The Coadjutor, meantime, retired to bed suffering great pain from a contusion on the side, caused by a stone, which struck him as he was kneeling by the wounded man on the Pont Neuf, during the first affray between the people, and the soldiers. Raging disappointment and anger racked the mind of Gondy. The ridicule and evident dislike of the Queen extinguished his ambitious aspirations. Tossing thus on his pillow, in pain, mental and physical, Gondy was falling into a troubled slumber, when M. de Laigues entered his chamber. De Laigues had, with many others, been present at the Queen's supper, and hastened to report the observations which he had heard. The Queen had stated, he said, her conviction that the Coadjutor had done all in his power to incense the people, and that his hurts were feigned: moreover, that his adventures had excited the buffoonery of M. de Nogent; the merry *verve* of M. de la Rivière; the feigned compassion of Mazarin; and the snappish comments of Monsieur; all which remarks the Queen had listened to with hearty laughter. Whilst Gondy was cogitating on this mortifying communication, and deliberating whether to withdraw his services from the ungrateful court, one M. d'Argenteuil rushed to his bedside, sent by the Marshal de la Meilleraye, who was connected by family ties with the Coadjutor, besides being his warm

friend, and admirer. "M. de la Meilleraye has sent me to you to say, that the devil possesses all at the Palais Royal. The Queen and the Cardinal believe firmly that you have excited the sedition, in spite of all the Marshal's protestations. The Queen has always declared that night would disperse the rioters: the Marshal disbelieved the assertion, but he has since been convinced of her Majesty's sagacity, as no one is now stirring in the streets. The Marshal therefore conjures you to take measures for your safety, as already her Majesty had proposed to exile you to Quimper, and to shut up Broussel at Hâvre. Moreover, the Marshal has had private warning, that it is her Majesty's intention, on the morrow, to exile the whole Parliament to Montargis! Monsieur, let me also add my own mite of testimony," continued Argenteuil; "the streets are now quiet, the Queen's power is paramount; some extraordinary event only, can renew the tumults to-morrow!" The Coadjutor meditated; then with an oath, he sprang from his bed, vowing before the following night to hold Paris at his feet. The ingratitude of the Queen, he said, dispensed him from his allegiance; and that, when too late, she should lament the loss of a faithful, and able servant! The insurrection needed but a spark, to flame up with redoubled fury. Gondy, bent on revenge, sent for Miron, a master of the Court of Accompts, and one of the most determined of Mazarin's adversaries. The Coadjutor then imparted to him the temper, and resolution of the court relative to the Parliament, under a pretended embargo of secrecy. Miron replied, "*Alors les Barricades!*"

The city of Paris was divided into sixteen sections: Miron was colonel of the Quartier St. Germain l'Auxerrois, the city ward in which were all the royal residences. It was resolved to rouse Martineau, captain of the Quartier St. Jacques, and another rabid demagogue of the Chamber. Miron undertook at once to beat up the city levies, and to summon to arms. MM. de Serrigny, d'Argenteuil, and de Laigues agreed to traverse the streets of the capital, and to spread the direful report; that Broussel was to be conveyed on the morrow to the citadel of Hâvre, and the parliament exiled to Montargis! Gondy, attired *en cavalier*, and muffled in a Spanish cloak, likewise, made a *sortie* alone; and many marvellous stories were afterwards current concerning the mysterious flittings of a dark figure, from group to group of the insurgents, who were sleeping on this eventful night in the lurid glare of their huge fires, on the Quai des Orfèvres.

Ministers, meanwhile, confident in the loyalty of the burgesses of Paris, had ordered the captains and colonels of the city wards, to collect their bands, and to occupy certain positions indicated. The telling out and distribution of these soldiers excited great commotion: the people loitering in the streets and *carrefours*, distrusting the Queen's word, were gradually rousing again into action, and ready to imbibe the insidious insinuations of the Coadjutor, and his friends. The *réveillé* being sounded by Miron's orders in the Quartier St. Germain, the citizens quitted their houses in haste to inquire the cause of the disturbance. Martineau, captain of the Quartier St. Jacques, being

unable to act, owing to strong potations imbibed during the previous day, his wife, a friend of the Coadjutor, caused the drum to be beaten, and a cry to arms raised; and herself gallantly placed the first stone of the barricade which there promptly arose. The agents of Gondy, Miron, d'Argenteuil, Epinay, Serrigny, and others, traversed the city, spreading dismay, and alarm. The cry *Aux armes!* was again raised. Paris, roused from the lull which had reassured the Queen and her minister, again bristled with insurgent bands. Fresh bodies of people rushed into the Place Royale, and a great barricade was raised, as if by magic, at the end of the Rue St. Honoré. The students of the University also now took up arms, declaring themselves ready to fight for Paris, and for Broussel. A troop of watermen, friends of Broussel, made fierce descent from the Quais de Grève, and de Landry, and with a great shout took possession of the Rue Neuve Nôtre Dame, and began to tear up the paving stones to build barricades. A band of six hundred insurgents marched upon the Châtelet to release the prisoners. They were preceded by drummers and flags. Repulsed by the valour of the captain of the district—one of the few faithful servants of the King during that eventful day—they marched to the Pont St. Michel, and built up barricades. Having thus successfully kindled again the expiring flame of revolt, by his mendacious reports and insinuations, M. le Coadjuteur returned to his bed, giving out that extreme sickness, arising from his wounds, prevented him from receiving *le monde* as usual.

At five o'clock A.M. of this memorable Thursday, August 27th, the Parliament met at the Palais de Justice, headed by Molé, first-president. A petition was immediately presented by the two nephews of Broussel, praying justice for the outrage committed on his person. Molé summoned Talon to defend the act of the crown; and after a brief debate a resolution was carried "for the arrest of M. de Comminges, and of all other persons convicted of the outrage on the persons, and liberty of Messieurs de la Cour: that criminal proceedings should be instituted against the ministers who had given such counsels to the Queen: that the High Court should march in procession to the Palais Royal to demand the release of the prisoners; afterwards, the members should remain assembled until justice was done, and tranquillity restored.*

Séguier, meantime, presented himself at dawn at the Palais Royal, where Mazarin handed to him a written message, with the Queen's commands to proceed at once to the Palais, and deliver it to the assembled Chamber. Various surmises have arisen as to the precise nature of this message; some persons insisting that it was a decree of banishment, exiling the Parliament to Montargis: others state, that Anne contented herself with again commanding the Chamber to suspend its revolutionary debates, under pain of immediate exile.

In fear and perturbation therefore Séguier returned

* Registres du Parlement de Paris; Hist. du Temps; Aubéry, Hist. du Cardinal de Mazarin, t. 1.

to his house to robe. The nature of his errand filled his relatives with dread; every moment news arrived of the enormities perpetrating in the capital, and of the fierce rage of all classes of citizens. Séguier's young daughter, the Duchesse de Sully,* weeping bitterly, threw herself at her father's feet, and implored him to disregard the Queen's inhuman command: at any rate, she declared that she would share his danger, and die with a father so beloved. The chancellor's brother, the bishop of Meaux, likewise refused to abandon him; and the two, notwithstanding his entreaties and remonstrances, persisted in sharing his peril. Séguier had wisely declined all military escort. Every ten yards his coach was stopped by a chain, or by a barricade. On the Place Dauphine a mob of demireps, presenting muskets at the carriage windows, demanded Broussel; and with fierce oaths protested that the chancellor should proceed no further. Séguier therefore, ordered his coachman to turn back; but instead of retreating to his house, determined to pass over the Pont St. Michel, and thus reach the Palais. Before the monastery of the Augustinians, Séguier, finding the concourse less, resolved to alight, and walk over the bridge to the Palais, hoping thus to elude observation. The carriage in which sat his courageous daughter and the bishop of Meaux, he sent to the Hôtel de Lûynes, a mansion close at hand; and to the friendly shelter of which he designed to retreat, in case he found his progress impracticable. Some friendly citizens of the superior class volunteered

* Charlotte Séguier, daughter of Pierre Séguier Duc de Villemor, Comte de Giem; married, 1639, Maximilian François de Béthune Duc de Sully.

also to protect his progress, assuring the weeping duchess that no hurt should befall her father. Séguier crossed the bridge, but found his way arrested by a barricade at the entry of the Rue de la Barrillerie. The people refused to permit him to pass; and so threatening were their menaces, that the friendly citizens, snatching an old sedan from the top of the barricade, thrust the chancellor into it, and attempted to thread other streets leading to the Palais. Another barricade in the Rue Ste. Anne intercepted his progress: a band of ruffians, however, were in hot pursuit, crying, "*Aux armes! aux armes!* kill him! kill him, that devil of a chancellor!" Others shouted, "No! no! prisoner for prisoner; exchange him for our Protector! Vive M. Broussel!" A furious onslaught was then made on the chancellor; in a moment his sedan was smashed, and but for the protection of his escort, he would have fallen a victim to the fury of the mob. As it was, Séguier took to his heels, protected by the swords of the loyal citizens, and ran at full speed back across the Pont St. Michel, followed by the mob, and reached the Hôtel de Lûynes, where he found his coach standing in the courtyard of the mansion. The house was closed—the doors and windows being strongly barred. Frantic with terror, Madame de Sully and the Bishop of Meaux, knocked at one of the doors; which was at length opened by a sleepy woman servant, who after some demur and amazement admitted the fugitives, just as the courtyard swarmed with rabble.* An assault was immediately made on the

* Journal du Parlement; Hist. du Temps; Relation de ce que s'est passé,

mansion ;* and the woman, moved by the tears of the duchess, and now thoroughly terrified, pushed them hastily into a closet on the basement floor of the mansion, at the end of a lofty vaulted hall. "M. le Chancellier had no sooner entered than the *canaille* rushed into the house, breaking and pillaging everything, and with frightful shouts demanded where he was, saying, with oaths, that they were determined to tear him limb from limb. They at length came to the apartment where the closet was; they sounded the wainscots, looked up the chimney, rapped the walls, but by great good luck they missed the closet, being also alarmed by an outcry from without that the King's soldiers were coming." During this fearful interval, Séguier sank on his knees, and made confession of his sins to his brother the Bishop of Meaux, expecting that every moment would be his last. He was at length rescued by the Marshal de la Meilleraye at the head of four regiments of guards, and a squadron of horse sent by Mazarin to his assistance. La Meilleraye had fortunately arrived before the completion of the huge barricade closing the Pont Neuf. He dispersed the rioters, and surrounded the Chancellor, whom his troops escorted on foot from the Hôtel de Lûynes. On the Pont Neuf, the *chevalier du guet*, hearing of the assault on the first magistrate of the realm and coming also to the rescue, met them. The chancellor, with

&c., &c. ; Bibl. Imp., MS. No. 2806, Supl. F. ; Gregorio Leti, Teatro-Gallico, t. 1.

* The Hôtel de Lûynes stood at the corner of the Quai des Augustins,—it was the town palace of the Duc de Lûynes, son of Madame de Chevreuse, by her first alliance with the Constable de Lûynes.

his daughter and brother, got into the coach of this functionary. The people again rallying, fired a volley of musketry at the coach: one of the chancellor's officers was killed by a ball; while another spent ball struck the Duchesse de Sully on the shoulder, fortunately inflicting only a severe bruise.* At length the Palais Royal was reached, and Séguier, more dead than alive, was ushered to the presence of Mazarin, to relate the perils he had undergone in his attempt to obey the Queen's commands.

A few hours subsequently, twelve hundred and sixty barricades had risen in the capital; they were rapidly built up with barrels filled with earth, logs, flagstones, heavy beams, old furniture, and paving stones. In the midst of these formidable erections, a narrow wicket, sufficiently large to admit of the passage of one person, was left, which aperture was defended by chains. The barricades were manned by hundreds of citizens, armed with muskets and pikes, who sallied from their houses at the sound of the tocsin—that well-known signal of sedition. Swarms of the lower kind of rabble clustered on and around the barricades, cheering the citizens. Several of these barricades were twenty feet high. Altogether, a hundred thousand men were under arms to rescue M. Broussel, and to vindicate the authority of the Parliament.

At this juncture, the members left the Palais de Justice in a body to demand the release of Broussel.

* Hist. du Temps. The duchess, relates another chronicler, screamed, and fainted. While she was unconscious, a large stone was thrown through the window of the coach, and fell upon her lap, wounding her right hand severely.

They marched on foot—two and two, in their scarlet robes, and furred caps. Passage was granted them, and the mob cheered, exhorting the members to demeanthemselves like men; and not to fear but that the people would execute the behests of the Parliament.*

The Queen, meanwhile, had slept soundly throughout the uproar which had prevailed in Paris from five o'clock. At nine she awoke, and was informed by M. de Villeroy of the narrow escape of her Chancellor, and of the renewal of the insurrection. While Anne was still pondering on these grievous tidings, intelligence was brought to her that the Parliament was on its way to the palace; that Monsieur had just arrived, escorted by a regiment of Swiss guards; that the Princesse de Condé, the Duchesse de Longueville, and other great ladies, had fled to the palace for protection; moreover, that the Queen of England had experienced great difficulty in getting to the palace from St. Germain; and had succeeded only by her sweet and pleasant address, and her assurances that she had there left M. Broussel in good health. Strong pickets had been posted in all the streets adjacent to the palace, and in the inner court the Swiss guards were massed in double file. The Queen made a hasty toilette, and ate a morsel; she then sent for Mazarin and Ségnier. After some conferencc in "*sa petite*

* A popular production in verse, called—L'Alleluia des Parisiens records,

"On vit passer le Parlement,
Qui s'en aller tout bellement,
Au Louvre dire bennisqua!
Alleluia!"

chambre grise," Anne entered the presence chamber, and waited with a composure which caused every one to marvel, for the arrival of the Parliament.

With a steady countenance the Queen surveyed the magistrates, whose pallor and agitation manifested how deeply they were moved. Without much preamble, Molé explained the cause of their visit, and implored the Queen to restore the prisoners. Anne replied, "that she should do nothing of the kind; that the detention of the counsellors was legal, and had been resolved in council. She was aware that great excitement existed in the capital; but if any catastrophe happened, their heads should answer for it. That when the late Prince de Condé, and the late Queen-Mother had been arrested, no remonstrances were made by the Parliament; and that she certainly should not yield to an insurrectionary movement in favour of a common-counselman like Broussel."* "Madame, may I presume to direct your attention to the condition of the capital: a remedy for this violence we must seek. Believe me, that your Majesty had best yield the prisoner of your own gracious will, than to be compelled to restore him by force." "That is what we shall see!" replied the Queen, vehemently. "You speak in ignorance, Madame, of the gravity of this revolt. All the forces of the crown now in Paris, joined to the city bands, could not suppress the insurrection! Let your

* Another relator of the interview states that the Queen replied—"Je n'en ferai rien : j'en ai délibéré avec mon conseil ; et c'est à vous-mêmes, messieurs, à remédia au désordre dont vous êtes la cause."—MS. Bibl. Imp. Suppl. F. 1206, quoted by Capefigue.

Majesty be aware that the barricades of the citizens rise within a hundred yards of your palace. Even women and children are roused. Oh, Madame, a concession on your part would cause the cessation of all this disorder and misery. We implore you, Madame!" "It is you, and your seditious members, who have raised this revolt," retorted Anne, in her sharpest voice. "Even now you march in a body to stir up sedition. Be sure, some day you will answer to the King for your treason. Go, Messieurs! allay this revolt, if so it please your august company. Go! you will obtain nothing more from me. The King one day will know how to distinguish between his good and loyal subjects, and such as you, who bring ruin to his crown!"* With these bitter and indignant words, Queen Anne retired.†

A groan of despair rose:—"Le royaume est perdu!" exclaimed Molé. Mazarin then said "That he had in vain advised her Majesty to make concessions;—but if the revolt was suppressed, and every one returned to his duty, he believed that the Queen would release the counsellors." The members then quitted the presence chamber. The state of Paris rendered it hopeless to expect that the people would lay down arms upon a promise so vague; indeed the exasperation was so

* "La Reine," relates Omer Talon, "nous refusa avec aigreur, et dit qu'elle n'en ferait rien. Depuis le Palais, jusques au Palais Royal, il y avait 8 barricades, et à chacune barricade un corps de garde composé de 20 hommes. Au Palais Royal nous trouvâmes les gardes Suisses, et puis les Françaises tout en bataille, sous les armes."—Ann. 1648.

† "La Reine se leva de sa chaise, et se retira dans son cabinet, disant, 'Mettez y ordre si voulez: mais je n'en ferait autre chose!'"—Talon.

great that their own lives were likely to be endangered unless they gave good account of Broussel. The members halted to consult on the grand staircase, so great was their distress; and it was again resolved to make one more appeal to Anne's common sense, and clemency. The members therefore retraced their steps to the presence chamber: the noble personages therein stood in precisely the same attitudes. Mazarin, pale and agitated, leaned with his elbow on the back of the Queen's chair: tears stood in the eyes of Monsieur; when Molé, emboldened by the urgency of affairs, grasped his hand saying, "Oh, Monseigneur, can you do nothing? We have returned to remind you that you are deeply concerned in the events of this most lamentable day! Can you procure us again audience with the Queen?"* Monsieur glanced inquiringly at the Cardinal. Mazarin stepped across the chamber, and opened the door of the Queen's closet, beckoning to the president of the High Court to enter. Anne there sat surrounded by ladies: her haughty eyes showed traces of tears. She rose as the members entered, and glanced angrily at Mazarin. Molé hastened to prostrate himself, and in words of touching eloquence again implored her to grant him the liberty of the prisoners; as, if he returned, and confronted the people without assuring them of this grace, that the Parliament would be compelled to obey the orders of an armed mob. "Monsieur," said the Queen, in more amiable tones, "do your duty: show obedience and respect to the

* Hist. du Temps, ann. 1648; Motteville, Aubéry, Gualdo.

commands of the King, and I for my part will then bestow upon you all the favour which you can reasonably expect." Mazarin then said, that if the Parliament would cease to tamper with affairs of state, and accept the recent Declaration as it stood, without further debate, the Queen would yield the prisoners. "The Queen," said Séguier, "has been compelled by your disobedience to act as she has done. Your revolt has occasioned the revolt of the people." Finding that nothing more was to be obtained, Molé said, that the question concerning the Declaration must be put to the Chamber. "Deliberate here!" interposed Mazarin anxiously: "select your hall of assembly: her Majesty will give assent!" A brief conference ensued between the presidents, Molé, de Mêsmes, and de Coigneux; but it was decided to return to the Palais de Justice and there debate, and bring the answer of the Chamber to the Palais Royal during the afternoon.

The Parliament set forth therefore, on its perilous march towards the Palais. At the first barricade, that at the bottom of the rue St. Honoré, shouts arose, "*les habits rouges! les habits rouges!*" while its stalwart defenders eagerly asked the success of their mission. "The Queen is gracious, and has promised satisfaction," replied Molé, undauntedly. The chains were unlocked, and the senators passed on. The encounter at the barricade of the Croix du Trahoir was destined to be more serious. As the members advanced, cries of "Broussel!" greeted them. A short parley ensued; which resulted in tremendous uproar. A ruffian seized

Molé by the beard. "Back! back! *maraud!* Go back to Madame la Regente, and inform her that if within two hours Broussel is not delivered up to us, a hundred thousand citizens will march upon the palace. Va! M. Mazarin, I warrant, shall then spend an uneasy quarter of an hour!" Molé vainly cried, that the Queen had promised the liberation of the prisoners. "Oh! oh! fetch Broussel. You go no further!" shouted another leader of the mob. Pistols were levelled, and even discharged on the affrighted members. A cook's apprentice thrust his halbert on to the breast of the president, exclaiming, "Back to Madame Anne; if you would not yourself be massacred; bring us Broussel, or Mazarin, or Séguier, as a hostage. Back!" In panic greater than can be described, five presidents and twenty-five counsellors, fearing for their lives, rushed into the *mêlée*, and throwing off their gowns, threaded their way with difficulty through the dense crowd, and escaped to their homes. Molé, displaying the noblest courage, then turned, and with the rest of the members was escorted back to the palace, amid, "a running fire of abuse, menace, execrations, and blasphemy."

The Parliament was again conducted to the presence chamber. In a few minutes the Duc d'Orleans appeared, and introduced Molé and twenty of his colleagues into *la petite chambre grise*, where Anne was still gloomily seated. Molé spoke sternly, and to the purpose, resolved to subdue the inexorable will of the Queen. Monsieur, moreover, threw himself on his knees, and implored her to relent, making pitiable recital of the

woes about to fall on the realm, Anne turned to the Princesse de Condé—"Madame," said she, "if your valiant son were here! Oh! M. le Prince would not have trembled before this vile *canaille!*" "To convince your Majesty of the necessity of yielding, M. le Cardinal had better make a *sortie* to the Pont Neuf!" jeeringly observed the president de Mêsmes. The princesses present then knelt before the Queen, and with tears and sobs, implored "that she would save them from the horrible fate of falling into the power of the mob." With soft gliding grace at this juncture Henrietta Maria advanced, and taking the white hand of the Queen, which hung listlessly over the side of her *fauteuil*, said, "Oh, Madame, hear me! Believe me, at the beginning of the revolution in England, never was the insurrection so great, or the ferment so mighty! Yield, madame—grant our prayer!" The joyous laugh of the young King just then ascended from the garden below. "Mon Dieu! mon Dieu! while that child is playing in the happy joyousness of youth, he is losing his crown!" exclaimed Molé, in a voice of anguish. "Madame, the Parliament is also the tutor and guardian of the King in his minority, and——" A gesture from the Queen prevented Molé from completing his sentence. Anne had already tasted the bitter fruit of parliamentary independence, and desired to arrest words which might have more deeply wounded her self-esteem. Heaving a sigh, Anne, again urged by Mazarin, rose, saying, "Well, Messieurs, see what is to be done. Retire and deliberate: you have heard my condition—suspend your deliberations until after the next vacation, and I will

release the prisoner. I have expressed my intention, and I shall not concede more—the crown cannot yield without humiliation!"

The members then on a sign from the Queen were conducted from her presence, and introduced into the long gallery of the Palais Royal, where seats were placed. Some refreshments were also brought to the members; as since five o'clock in the morning they had tasted nothing. The more refractory of the counsellors objected to deliberate out of their own hall; they doubted the legality of any decision so made; and they raved at the obstinacy of the Queen, who by simple concession could have pacified all. The presidents Molé and de Mêsmes, however, insisted that affairs were too serious to admit of hesitation or punctilio, and that the capital must be saved. A session was then hastily improvised; the Duc d'Orleans and the Prince de Conty took seats near to Molé, and all other peers then in the palace hastened by their presence to give validity, and weight to the deliberation. Before the debate commenced, Mazarin presented himself, and spoke vigorously, and well; he concluded his address by stating, "that he believed the Parliament was loyal and patriotic; the Queen he assured them was placable and clement: and that such being the fact, accommodation was easy, and practicable."*

No display of oratorical power, or of subtle cavil delayed the solution of the question they were there to

* Omer Talon; Motteville. Madame de Motteville states that Mazarin was embarrassed when speaking before the Parliament, "qu'il n'avait pas l'agrément du discours;" and one of her friends, a magistrate, told her that he was confused, and repeated his little harangue several times.

debate—whether the House would suspend its debates until after the approaching vacation, in return for the liberation of the imprisoned counsellors. The demand had been made by Anne to save the honour of the crown; for the boon had been before conceded to Monsieur, but had been annulled by the facts of the insurrection, and the resolutions passed on that very morning for the rescue of Broussel. Many counsellers opined to refuse this concession; but the question being carried by a majority of twenty votes, notice was immediately sent to the Queen that the members had deliberated, resolved, and prayed for audience.*

The Queen during the deliberations of the Assembly sat in her grey chamber, silent and sad. Mazarin retired to his own apartments, attended by M. de la Rivière; and prepared, it is said, to quit Paris without further reference to the will, or the desire of Anne of Austria, in case the Parliament had made his own exile the condition of its compliance with the Queen's requisition. During this hour of suspense, Anne suddenly rousing from her reverie, dispatched a messenger to summon the Coadjutor. Gondy returned as his answer, that he was her Majesty's humble servant, but was too ill to rise from his bed."†

Introduced for the third time into the presence of the Queen—who received the members, attended only by Mazarin and Séguier—the first president Molé pre-

* Aubéry, t. 1; Talon, ann. 1648; Registres du Parlement de Paris.

† Nevertheless the Coadjutor found himself well enough to make a sortie to appease a tumult in the rue Neuve Notre Dame. The Queen's messenger was M. l'Argentier (Anne's old servant, Le Gros), who heard cries raised of "Vive le Coadjuteur!"

sented the decree of the High Court, which Anne graciously accepted; and thereupon agreed to dispatch mandates for the liberation of MM. Broussel and Blancménil; and also to grant a *lettre de cachet* restoring the counsellors Lainé, Benoit, and Loysel, to their homes. Anne signed forthwith the *lettres de cachet*, one of which was addressed to Chavigny, governor of Vincennes, the other to M. de Comminges. She was also pleased to direct, that as the concession was made, the King's command should be executed speedily, and with honour. Two of the royal coaches were therefore ordered—one to convey M. de Thou, nephew of Blancménil, and an exempt of the guard, to fetch the president from Vincennes; the other for the usé of M. Boucherat, nephew of Broussel, who was to conduct his uncle from St. Germain. On handing these documents to Molé, the Cardinal could not refrain from adding, "that by the events of that day, the royal authority had been overthrown; and that in his opinion it would have been better for the King to have lost three provinces of his realm, rather than to have been compelled to agree to such a compromise."* The heightened colour, and indignant manner of the Queen showed how deeply the words of her minister found echo in her heart.†

Preceded by the coaches sent to bring back the prisoners, the Parliament, at seven o'clock in the evening, again sêt forth on its dangerous peregrination. M. Boucherat unfolded and exhibited the Queen's mandate

* Mém. de Omer Talon, ann. 1648. Broussel's wife was Marguerite Baucherat.

† "La Reine etait toute outrée de douleur, et de colère."

from the window of the coach; while Molé proclaimed the speedy return of the captives, and the gracious demeanour of her Majesty. Deafening cheers saluted this announcement: the chains of the barricades fell, and every obstacle was removed to facilitate the progress of the envoys. The Parliament also came in for its share of the plaudits. Some sceptics, however, still refused to be convinced of the reality of the royal pardon. Menacing cries here and there arose, threatening that if the people were deceived, that the Palais Royal should be pillaged; and *l'Etrangère* and her minister, driven from the kingdom! At eleven o'clock the same evening, Blancménil appeared on the Pont Neuf, and was saluted with joyous greeting. The return of M. Broussel was likely to be somewhat delayed, as Comminges had already conducted his prisoner to Menil Rancé, on the road to Sedan. Dire suspicion therefore, once more took possession of the people; and it was resolved by the sections, to stand to arms until the arrival of their hero, which was announced as possible, on the afternoon of the following day.

The night of the 27th of August was a period of suspense and apprehension, to the inmates of the Palais Royal. No one slept, or even contemplated repose. The regiments of the guard* stood to arms;

* The palace guards were—the Scotch guard of 100 men, under M. de Chandenier; les Cent Suisses, a special corps d'honneur; the body guard of 200 men, and 200 gentlemen of the guard; the musketeers à cheval, uniform blue and silver, 130 men—this was that celebrated body, les Mousquetaires du Roi; two regiments of Swiss guards, composed of 30 companies of 200 men in each company; two regiments of French guards, of the same strength; one company of gens d'armes of 200 men; and one company of light horse of

and M. de Jarzé, at the head of twenty picked men, guarded the door of the royal apartment. Abroad in the street, angry and excited mobs of demagogues kept guard, dancing and howling around their watch-fires; and fierce encounters took place under the very windows of the palace. The Queen wandered throughout the night from chamber to gallery; pale, sometimes shedding tears, but displaying always, the ready courage, and fearlessness, which had ever marked her character. Mazarin at this juncture also showed pluck, and decision, consoling his royal mistress by assurances of eventual triumph; and soothing the vividness of her regret for having betrayed the prerogative, by her compliance with the insolent demands of the insurgents, by suggesting, "that as Regent of the realm she had no right to make concessions fatal to the prerogative; therefore, the King on his majority, could legally refuse to be bound by such engagements." Anne, as if suddenly inspired with a presentiment of the unlimited grandeur of her son's future reign, replied, emphatically, "M. le Cardinal, and he will do it! be sure of it!" Mazarin's position, in the temper of the Paris mob, was precarious; so much so that his friends assembled at the Palais Mazarin, ready to afford him protection. Firearms were concealed in his stables to be used in case of necessity; and a battalion of soldiers kept guard in the inner court of the mansion. His apartments in the Palais Royal were protected; and sentinels challenged all persons seeking audience

200 men. Wherever the King and Queen went to reside they were attended by all these guards.

of his Eminence. In the Bois de Boulogne, a small body of cavalry was posted under the command of the Count d'Harcourt, to protect his retreat if compelled by a sudden assault on the palace to flee for his life. In the disguise of a cavalier, however, wearing a grey habit, boots, spurs, and sword, Mazarin courageously, about midnight, made a *sortie* into the streets to reconnoitre. He visited the outposts of the Swiss guards; and even entered into discourse with some of the grimiest of the insurgents of the rue St. Honoré. Fortunately for the Cardinal his disguise was not penetrated; for the people in their arrogant contempt for his character, "as a poltroon and a foreigner," had not the most remote suspicion that he would venture from the palace.

At ten o'clock on the following morning, August 28th, Broussel arrived. The rapture of the people was almost delirious in its manifestation. Volley after volley of musketry was discharged, to notify his happy advent to the more distant quarters of the capital. He entered the town in one of the royal coaches drawn by six horses, and followed by a second, bearing the armorial blazon of Anne of Austria. Broussel sat at the window in his borrowed cloak, the tears pouring down his rough honest cheeks, and his hands raised in mute marvel at what he beheld.* From the Porte St. Denis he entered the rue de la Ferronière, from thence

* L'Alleluia des Parisiens has the verse, referring to Broussel—

"Chacun veut avoir son portrait,
Pour mettre dans son cabinet,
Parmi les raretés qu'il a,
Alleluia!"

he was carried to the Croix du Trahoir, from which locality the cheers of the mob were heard in the Palais Royal. Broussel was then escorted on to the Pont Neuf, the Pont St. Michel, and the Marché Neuf; afterwards he was conducted to his little house in the rue St. Landry. The people interchanged congratulations, showering benedictions on the head of the factious old counsellor, who was himself quite bewildered by his sudden popularity, and simply and seriously inquired, what great deed he had done to merit such a reception? The bells of the city churches pealed forth merry *carrillons* as a welcome. "*Vive Broussel—Vive le Père du Peuple,*" rolling from a thousand throats, compelled him to show himself at the windows of his house. M. Boucherat went down to the Palais to notify his uncle's return. The Parliament thereupon dispatched Guyet, a clerk of the High Court, and four ushers, to request his presence. Broussel was again surprised at dinner with his family; but hastily rising, he set out on foot for the Palais. Followed by a disorderly rabble of six thousand persons, he at length presented himself to the ardent greetings of his colleagues. The President Molé harangued him in the name of the High Court. Broussel made a modest, but fluent reply; and then proposed that an order should be issued, directing every one to lay down arms, and the barricades to be overthrown;—which resolution was unanimously voted.

In a few hours every vestige of the barricades had disappeared from the streets—carriage traffic was resumed; the shops were opened; the populace retired

to their alleys, and cellars in the Quartiers St. Antoine and St. Jacques.* "Never did I behold Paris more tranquil, even on Good Friday," relates Gondy, triumphantly. "Never was an insurrection better ordered," records Madame de Motteville,—"in two hours the streets were clear; everything was tranquil; the past seemed a frightful dream. Broussel was afterwards taken by the people to Nôtre Dame, where they insisted that Te Deum should be sung;—but the poor man, quite ashamed, managed to slip out of the church by a side door, and so escaped. The wealthy burghers of Paris, nevertheless, who took up arms so promptly to prevent the *canaille* from becoming too dominant so as to sack the town, were not much wiser than the populace. They clamoured for Broussel as vociferously, and more to the purpose than miserable ragmen; and swore that until they saw him again with their own eyes, they would not lay down arms."†

This episode of the barricades was the severest ordeal which the Queen had yet endured. Loving power, she saw her authority derided; conscious of capacity, she had been overwhelmed with insult, and treated as ignorant, indolent, froward, and branded in the public streets as the paramour of her minister, Mazarin! The blood of Anne of Austria was stirred at this insinuation. Nevertheless, her youthful follies seemed to warrant these slanders. All the rumours, and something more than the

* "En moins de deux heures tout fut appaisé, les boutiques ouvertes, le commerce rétablie, comme s'il n'y eut jamais eu de bruit."—Journal d'Olivier d'Ormesson.

† Mém. de Motteville; Journal d'Olivier d'Ormesson.

rumours of her flighty intrigues with Buckingham, Chalais, Monsieur, and others, during her husband's reign, were discussed, and served the public as a standard whereby to judge her present proceedings, in this hour of her unpopularity. The Parisians nevertheless, misinterpreted the present temper of the Queen. She liked flattery and homage; but she loved power far better;—while Anne, and her young antagonist Gondy, were well matched in their faculty of dissimulation, and power of subtle speech. On the day after Broussel's return, the Queen sent the Duke de Longueville to visit the Coadjutor, and to desire his presence at the palace. Danger of arrest being past, that subtle manœuverer readily complied with her wish. Anne was most graciously affable: no resentment lurked in her manner; and she made most affectionate inquiry after the injuries received by M. le Coadjuteur. "Ah, Monsieur, if I had only believed you! M. de Chavigny is the cause of all. I deferred to him, I confess, rather than to the poor Cardinal." Gondy, too wily to be caught by Anne's sugared words, answered in the same tone; and on quitting the presence, the Queen ordered him to pay a visit to the "poor Cardinal," to comfort him after the terrible turmoil in honour of M. Broussel! Here Anne was betrayed into a little satirical laugh, which she quickly suppressed. Gondy found the Cardinal, to his surprise, sitting *tête-à-tête* with M. Broussel, whom he was addressing in his most purring tones. He rose to embrace the Coadjutor, exclaiming "that he was the most far-seeing, and politic man in the realm! and that

in future he should, for his own edification, consult him on most matters!" After thus being plentifully sprinkled with the *eau bénite* of statecraft, the two took their leave. Broussel thoroughly mystified, whispered to his companion, "*Mais, n'est ce pas là un Pantalon!*"

During the evening of the 29th fresh commotions ensued. Two carts laden with gunpowder were observed at dusk hour to steal from the gates of the Bastille towards the palace. The people flew to arms, crying that the Queen was going to bombard the Palais de Justice! The tocsin of St. André was rung; the mob seized the gunpowder and threw it into the river, and made bonfires of the carts. Fortunately, after perambulating the streets till midnight the people dispersed. The most extravagant rumours were industriously propagated. It was said, that the Queen of Sweden, a famous heroine and Amazon, was marching to the assistance of Queen Anne; but the most legitimate of the panics which transported the Parisians, was the advance of three thousand men to Amiens, sent by Condé as an instalment of the force to garrison Paris before the execution of the *coup d'état*, planned between himself and the Queen, but which Anne had been imprudent enough to anticipate. Incendiary papers were dropped about the streets, no one knew by whom, stating that, notwithstanding the placable deportment of the Queen, she intended to avenge the insults inflicted upon her dignity, and the honour of the regency; and that it had been resolved to take the King from Paris. During the same night, after the commotion

in the rue St. Antoine, another panic brought a mob of the lowest populace to the rue St. Honoré. The Queen was about to retire to bed, when M. de Jarzé arrived, declaring that the royal family was not safe in the Palais Royal: that the people demanded the King, and clamoured to have the custody of his Majesty's person at the Hôtel de Ville; and that they had assembled to seize the keys of the town to prevent his Majesty from being carried off. "They vow, Madame, to burn down this palace if the King is taken away; and, Madame, what are we, but a handful of your faithful guards, willing to lay down life for your service."* To allay, if possible, public agitation and distrust, Anne, early on the following morning, sent for the provost, and sheriffs of Paris. She assured them in her most winning tones that no design was under discussion to convey the King from Paris; and she thanked them for their "passive resistance," to the fury of the insurgent leaders during the barricades, which her Majesty said, "had saved the capital." The Queen when she made this gratuitous assertion, felt that she was preparing to act contrary to her words; and that measures were in actual contemplation to punish the late revolt. Her resentment, moreover, was great at the supine and selfish policy shown by the city authorities; "as," said her Majesty afterwards, "these said burgesses demonstrated as great a treachery, hate, and fury against me, as the vilest of the vile *canaille*." Madame de Motteville, who was in attendance on the

* Anne's constant reply was, "Ne craignez point: Dieu n'abandonnera pas l'innocence du Roi; il faut se confier en lui!"

Queen, remarked demurely, "Madame, you have just now well exercised your craft as Queen—which is dissimulation!" "Exercising also the duty of a Christian woman, Madame!" retorted the Queen; who believed that her pacific assurances, though untrue, were legitimate and right, as it defended the throne, and saved the shedding of blood. Perhaps in the difficult circumstances in which the Queen found herself, some excuse may be attempted for her prevarications. She had, it was true, provoked the contest; but it had been by no unusual exercise of the royal prerogative. The imprisoned counsellors had struck at the sceptre of the King; and following the traditions of the throne, Anne thought it her duty to punish such attempts. Remembering the omnipotence of Richelieu, and the servile humility with which his most arbitrary acts were obeyed, Anne viewed with amazement the enterprises of the Parliament; and believed that a high-handed display of power, was only requisite to awe the factious into submission. Anne possessed, however, too little control over her temper when affairs resisted her will: her contemptuous reception of the Coadjutor converted him, an ambitious and self-complacent man, into a bitter and open foe. But for Mazarin, Gondy probably would have been received into the council by the Queen, who appreciated his tact, and resources: but the Cardinal hated him with untiring bitterness; and never ceased in his foreign correspondence to blacken his character and motives, ascribing to him the most odious intents. The Coadjutor, able as his enemy,

resolved therefore to drive him ignominously from the realm; and if possible seize, in spite of the Queen, Mazarin's state and power.

La Journée des Barricades deeply affected the Queen, but her isolation compelled her to exertion. Mazarin lived in nervous dread of violence, and was now quite incapable of giving counsel. Horses ready saddled stood in the stables of his Eminence for sudden emergency; the valuables of the Palais Mazarin were packed; * and "the nieces" were admonished to be prepared for flight at any moment. The Cardinal himself, dressed *en cavalier*, wandered about in restless disquietude, and wearied the Queen by admonitions to leave Paris. So bitter was the hatred with which the Parisians now regarded him, that he dared not show himself in the streets of the capital. Satires and lampoons rained from the pens of the outraged counsellors, "against the tyrant"; and these enemies were potent, comprehending almost all the young, and rising amongst the middle classes. Among other pieces composed, and published at this period against the Queen, and her minister, is "*L'Entretien familier du Roy et de la Reyne Regente sa mère, sur les affaires du Temps*," most amusing and caustic in its virulent insinuation; and showing the popular belief concerning the policy, and morals of the

"Fuy les arrêts du Parlement,
Trousse baggage et vestement;
Que ton altesse Mazarine,
Craigne le destin de Conchine!
Va! va t'en gredin de Calabre,
Va! va t'en dans Rome establer
Les biens qu'on t'a laissé voler!
La Mazarinade."—SCARRON.

court. The piece is in the form of a dialogue between the King, and his mother, of which the following extract is a specimen :—*

King.—My dear mamma, why have you exiled M. de Vendôme? and why did you imprison M. de Beaufort?

Queen.—My son, because they were people too worthy to follow the advice of M. le Cardinal.

King.—My dear mamma, tell me why do you employ M. le Cardinal de Mazarin in preference to any other person?

Queen.—My son, because I like him, and he obeys me.

King.—My dear mamma, why have you given him a lodging in my palace, so near to you?

Queen.—My son, to see him conveniently, when I wish.

King.—My dear mamma, why do you allow him to have guards within my palace?

Queen.—My son, to protect his person, without which I should not know how to exist!

King.—My dear mamma, why did you exile and imprison so many of my good counsellors of the Parliament?

Queen.—My son, because they refused to obey M. le Cardinal; and because they were very good and worthy people.

King.—My dear mamma, why do you not like worthy people?

* Entretien Familier du Roy, et de la Reine Regente sa mère, sur les affaires du Temps. Paris, 1649.

Queen.—My son, because M. le Cardinal will not allow me to listen to anybody but himself.

King.—My dear mamma, why do you receive the Holy Eucharist so often, and go to all the churches in my capital, if you don't like good people?

Queen.—My son, M. le Cardinal tells me that I must do so for state reasons, that everybody may esteem me to be a good, and devout Queen.

King.—My dear mamma, tell me who your advisers are, that I may know them?

Queen.—My son, M. le Cardinal de Mazarin; and all who obey him—such as the relatives of the late Cardinal de Richelieu, M. le Prince de Condé, the Chancellor, M. le Grand Maitre, the Count de Brienne, Madame d'Aiguillon, Villequier, Jarzé, de Jars, Beringhen, le Tellier, Roquelaure, Tubœuf, and others, all people well chosen, and well surfeited with the bread of the people.

King.—My dear mamma, why do you not conclude a peace abroad?

Queen.—My son, because M. le Cardinal does not find it convenient; for he says, he should not then be great, and honoured as he is now.

King.—My dear mamma, why did not M. le Duc de Longueville sign a peace long ago at Munster, as you sent, and commanded him so to do?

Queen.—My son, M. le Cardinal prevented it, by M. Servien, his creature; that he might meantime, more easily make his fortune, and marry his nieces!

The greatest enemy of the Queen and Mazarin, could not affirm that Anne's residence in the capital was envi-

able, while in one street this pamphlet was exhibited in the shop windows, and perhaps in the next street some ragged knave went howling out the following verses, in honour of the late triumph of the Parliament :—

"Ce fut une etrange rumeur,
Lorsque Paris tout en fureur,
S'emut et se barricada,
Alleluia !

"Sur les deux heures après diner,
Dedans la rue St. Honoré,
Toutes les vitres l'on cassa,
Alleluia !

"Le Marèchal de l'Hôpital,
Fut sur le Pont Neuf à cheval,
Afin d'y mettre le holà,
Alleluia !

"Si les bourgeois eussent voulu,
Le Cardinal était pendu
Mais son bonnet on respecta,
Alleluia !" &c. &c.

The Marshal de la Meilleraye also, was an especial object of abuse, and so greatly did he dread the rancour of the people, that he bribed the watermen of the Seine to take his private abode, at the back of which the river flowed, under their protection, and to warn him of any meditated assault.

The Parliament, as soon as tranquillity was restored, again recommenced its agitation. The 7th of September was the usual period for the prorogation of the Chamber ; but Molé, according to his engagement with the Queen, proposed that the vacation should commence, when all fear of a second *émeute* was dissipated. Le Coigneux and Broussel, however, arrogant at their

late victory over the court, declared that the members needed no vacation, and that her Majesty's whimsical restrictions ought to be disregarded. "The Queen has before told us, Messieurs, that a boon should never be made compulsory; now vacations are a boon, and as such, I opine can, and ought at this juncture to be rejected. Cassiodorus avers, *Otio vos frai patimini videamini labore fatigari continuo.* The city is still troubled; the designs of the court suspicious, and probably dangerous." The question was then put, and carried unanimously, "that the Queen should be petitioned to permit the Chamber to assemble throughout the accustomed term of vacation." Anne, who had already formed her plans, and who trusted to the loyalty and friendship of Condé, granted the desired favour, limiting, however, its duration to the first fortnight of the usual vacation; during which time Molé engaged that the question of the levy of finance should be the only subject discussed. So outrageous had become the libels on the private life of the Queen, that Anne also requested Molé to take steps to suppress the scandal. The Queen was represented in these libels as desperately enamoured of her minister, and ready to make any sacrifice to insure his goodwill. The disgusting licence, and improbability of the accusations brought against illustrious personages in these Mazarinades, are their best refutation. The Mazarinade —witty, jingling in rhyme, and audaciously profane— was the offspring of the hot passions, and violent partisanship of the era, which deemed all reprisal lawful, to blast the fame of an enemy. Morlet, the printer of one of these defamatory songs touching the private

relations between Mazarin, and his royal mistress,* was prosecuted, committed to the Châtelet, and condemned to be hanged by order of the Parliament. The people however, rose, rescued the prisoner as he was being led to execution; two men were killed in the fray, but Morlet escaped, and was soon again seen in Paris, manufacturing fresh atrocities.

Resolved to deliver herself from bondage so irksome and humiliating, Anne determined, if Condé proved a true man, and loyal, to take signal vengeance on the factious capital. The great war terminated by the victory of Lens, now enabled M. le Prince to place himself at the Queen's orders. Condé, however, had declined to visit Paris, until order had been restored. "I do not desire to compete with M. d'Orleans for the favour of MM. de la Cour!" he proudly observed. It required much cautious contrivance on the part of the Queen and her advisers, to elude the vigilance of the Parisians, who kept anxious watch on the proceedings of the Palais Royal. The little M. d'Anjou, fortunately for the Queen's project, fell ill of some infantine disorder, but which was publicly announced as small-pox. The Queen therefore one day casually, observed during her afternoon reception, that it would be advisable to remove the King for his usual

* This libel is in the form of a soliloquy by the Queen—each verse has a refrain, by the people: the first verse is as follows:—

"Jules que j'aime plus que le roi, ni l'état,
Je te veux témoigner ma passion extrême,
En perdant le royaume, en me perdant moi-même,
Afin que tu profite en ce noble attentat.

REFRAIN.—Peuples! n'en doutez pas, il est vrai qu'il la baise!

summer recreation in the country, especially as the little Monsieur was ill. Anne made no further observation on the subject, but carelessly changed the discourse. At six o'clock A.M., however, on the following morning, September 13th, the King, accompanied by Mazarin and Villeroy, entered a coach at the garden entrance to the palace, and without guards, kettledrums, or attendants, quitted Paris, and drove to Ruel, the country-house of the Duchess d'Aiguillon. Anne, disdaining to withdraw privately, remained in the Palais Royal. "I shall rejoin the King at my own time, and convenience," observed she scornfully. "The Queen remained behind as the most valiant-hearted, to cover the King's retreat; she wished to visit her confessor, who was sick, and to say adieu to her beloved friends at the Val de Grâce. She visited the little Monsieur, also, whom she found improving under treatment for his small-pox. As the King quitted Paris, some troops of scoundrels began to shout "Aux armes! aux armes!" and afterwards tried to pillage his Majesty's baggage-waggons. This insolence alarmed Mazarin, who sent M. de l'Estrade to inform the Queen; and to entreat her, in the King's name, not to visit Val de Grâce, but to set out promptly for Ruel. "I had the honour to be with her Majesty when this message arrived," continues Madame de Motteville; "four coaches were waiting in the court-yard, and her coif was on her head. The Queen's judgment was always just; she reflected therefore, that if she countermanded her visits, the astonishment manifested by her own officers might alarm the populace. Considering therefore, that it was better to

show a firm front, she accomplished these two visits, and then made glorious retreat. Before leaving Paris her Majesty granted audience to the Provost of Paris, and promised to return with the King in eight days."

Sixteen days therefore, after her stormy interview with the Parliament on the great day of the barricades, Anne quitted Paris. She took one day's repose, and then commenced her acts of retaliation against the rebel city. Her first step was the arrest of MM. de Chavigny, and de Châteauneuf. M. de Chavigny had never forgiven Mazarin for having, in the first instance, supplanted him as minister of state; and eventually, for having driven him from the cabinet. Occasionally honoured by the confidence of the Queen, Chavigny was accused of giving her Majesty advice, which he knew would be hurtful to royal interests. His intimacy with Viole, a president of the Parliament of Paris, and one of the most rancorous adversaries of the royal power, caused it to be suspected that the agitation which had resulted in the conferences of the Chambre St. Louis, and the insolent defiance with which the royal commands had been received, emanated from the promptings of M. de Chavigny. The circumstances of the escape of M. de Beaufort also, had not been forgotten by Anne of Austria: moreover, she still resented the "impertinences" which she had experienced during the late King's life, from Chavigny; who acted, at that period, as the faithful agent of Richelieu. Chavigny was arrested at Vincennes, and conveyed as a prisoner into the same apartment so long inhabited by M. de Beaufort. His

wife was denied access to his presence; his papers were seized; and it was intimated to him that the interference of the Parliament would materially increase the rigour of his prison. Subsequently, Chavigny was removed to the fortress of Hâvre. M. de Châteauneuf had primarily incurred Anne's displeasure by his refusal to aid her, when she had appealed to him for succour. He had then advised her to be reconciled to her Parliament, to temporise, and to wait for the King's majority before she had recourse to rigorous measures. Mazarin besides, had not forgotten his old jealousies; or renounced his conviction, that many were the intrigues hatched under the ex-chancellor's splendid roof at Montrouge. Exile, however, was alone meeted to Châteauneuf: who was forbidden to approach within sixty leagues of any place in which the court might sojourn; and bidden to retire to a house which he possessed in the province of Berri.

On the 20th of September, Condé arrived at Ruel. He was received by the Queen with delight and joy,* and by Mazarin with studied veneration. Anne believed that she at length possessed a servant, able as well as willing to execute her commands. Condé as yet was a devoted and loyal servant of the crown; and resented in his heart, the obloquy inflicted on the sovereign power by the violence of the barricades. He returned, however, from his glorious campaigns to take his seat in the privy council by Anne's urgent desire,

* The Queen's greeting was, "Monsieur souffrirez vous que l'on fasse affront à l'autorité du Roi." Condé replied, "Madame, voilà mon epée pour le service du Roi!" Les Portraits de la Cour.—Archives Curieuses, vol. vii. 2ème serie.

to find her Majesty's infatuation for Mazarin undiminished: for if she had lost faith in the Cardinal's power to control an angry mob, his private influence was paramount. The Queen desired from Condé—and hinted her wish—the same subservience to the will of Mazarin: the latter was to suggest the policy to be pursued, while to the able hand of Condé was allotted the task, in her Majesty's mind, of fulfilling those decrees. Very different, however, were the views of the Great Condé; he, like other of the princes of the blood, loathed the supremacy of the "low-born foreigner," whose wealth scandalised the realm; and whose intimacy with the Queen-Regent caused foul aspersions to fall on the honour of the crown. The mind of the Queen was not feeble, nor was she swayed by the advice of the person whom she last consulted—this fact rendered the dominance of the Cardinal so much the more dangerous, and galling. It was humiliating, therefore, to Condé, to feel an inward persuasion that Anne of Austria considered his counsels vastly inferior to those of Mazarin; while at the will of the latter, she would not hesitate at any hour, to decree his arrest. "Behold, therefore, Monseigneur, what the result will be if you crush the Parliament, and besiege Paris at the solicitation of the Queen. You will rivet the chain which binds us to M. de Mazarin. Did he hesitate to arrest MM. de Beaufort, de Chavigny, de Châteauneuf? The very articles demanded by the Parliament, especially that of *la sureté publique*, so resolutely denied by the Queen, is a guarantee for your own freedom, as well as for that of the public!" Condé mused, and was

convinced: his blood boiled at the epithets applied to him, and current in Paris—"laquais de M. le Cardinal," in anticipation of his menaced hostility. The subtle Coadjutor with his oily tongue already had assailed Condé, and paid him a visit at Ruel. Gondy found the Queen taking recreation in a beautiful grotto in the grounds, conversing with M. le Prince, eating Spanish citrons, and making merry over the consternation of the Parliament. Condé presently rose, and taking the Coadjutor aside, murmured in his ear—"to-morrow, at seven o'clock, I will be with you: the crowd will be too great at the Hôtel Condé." The transport of the wily prelate was intense. To foil the Queen in her projects of vengeance, and perhaps to wrest from le Mazarin the glorious sword, upon which so much depended, was a triumph greater than any he had yet achieved. Gondy, however, mistook the intentions of Condé, as he afterwards discovered to his dismay: the prince had no desire to elevate the Parliament at the expense of the crown; the doings of MM. de la Cour he pronounced execrable, and audacious; but the pretensions of le Mazarin he equally denounced. Mazarin driven into exile, the ear of the Queen would be his own—for Condé then dreaded not "the puny competition of M. le Coadjuteur."

The departure of the King, meantime, had convulsed Paris with agitation, and dread. The Parliament, nevertheless, continued its deliberations upon financial matters, according to its promise to the Queen, until news reached the chamber of the arrest of Chavigny, and Châteauneuf. The president Viole, the friend of Cha-

vigny, rushed to the Palais, and precipitated himself into the chamber foaming almost with passion. Without regard for the formalities of debate, he hoarsely exclaimed—"Cease, Messieurs, cease to debate upon such puerilities! The safety of this great city, of the Parliament, and of every inhabitant is menaced! Who can trust the word, or the promise of the Queen—a princess who so often has violated the most sacred engagements? Last month, while we were grateful to the Almighty for a great victory, the Queen caused two of our august company to be imprisoned, and four of our members exiled. She promised on quitting Paris oblivion of past grievances; and solemnly undertook to maintain that to which she had assented! What do we hear now?—that M. de Châteauneuf, already the miserable victim of a tyrant, has been again driven from his house at Montrouge; and that M. de Chavigny, an old and faithful servant of the crown, and its able minister, has been seized, and imprisoned, without form or process whatever! The Queen, and le Mazarin have dared to do this! The court has quitted Paris; all the great officers of the crown have followed, taking all their furniture, and valuables! M. le Chancelier has even stripped his house, leaving only his bookshelves! At what conclusion do you therefore arrive after such enterprises, and portents?" A scene of the wildest excitement followed, which Molé tried in vain to suppress. The President Novion moved, "that the edict of 1617, given during the reign of Louis XIII. against the Marquis d'Ancre, should be revived, and applied to Mazarin." It prohibited foreigners from

holding office in the realm; proscribed all such; and decreed their banishment from the realm, under pain of capital awards. The motion was seconded by Broussel, whose words were inaudible in an overpowering clamour of applause. During this tumultuous scene, Molé sat calm and imperturbable, and when called upon refused to allow the question to be put to the vote. "Leave the chair, *Mazarin fieffé!* Quit the chair! others are here who will fill it more worthily!" exclaimed Coulon, one of the younger, and more democratic counsellors. Molé with admirable tact kept his temper, smiling at the gesticulations, of the excited counsellor.* Omer Talon, ever admirable and ready, came to the rescue, and proposed, "that a humble address should be sent to the Queen, on these, and other important matters, principally to ask for the return of the King to his capital." After the briefest deliberation it was unanimously resolved, "that very humble remonstrances should be made to the Queen upon the arbitrary, and tyrannical imprisonment of MM. de Châteauneuf, and de Chavigny; that her Majesty should be requested to bring the King to Paris; and that MM. the Princes of the blood, the dukes and peers, and the great officers of the crown, should be formally summoned to return, and take their seats in the Parliament, to deliberate upon the article passed by the Chambre St. Louis, and called "*la sureté publique.*" Never was resolution more audacious and insolent:—the princes and peers were invited to disobey the mandate of the crown; and requested to

* Registres du Parlement, ann. 1648; Hist. du Temps, ann. 1648.

deliberate upon an article which had been firmly, and decisively rejected by the Queen. The wrath of Condé was vehemently roused at this outrage upon the prerogative, "*par ces barbons !*" such being the epithet by which the members were designated at court.

The deputation arrived at Ruel at five o'clock during the afternoon of Tuesday, September 22nd. It consisted of two presidents and twenty counsellors. The Queen received them coldly, surrounded by all the princes of the blood, and M. de Longueville, who, in right of his alliance with the Condé family, enjoyed privilege at court. The princes had assembled at Ruel to make response to the summons of Parliament, which had been notified to each of them on the previous evening. "Madame," said Molé, "we are deputed by your Parliament humbly to pray that your Majesty will return to Paris, and bring the King back to rejoice the hearts of his loyal subjects. We are, moreover, empowered to make humble remonstrances upon the arrest of MM. de Chavigny and de Châteauneuf, and to prefer our earnest prayer for their liberation. Finally, we have been instructed to ask your Majesty to empower the Parliament permanently to continue its deliberations for the reformation of the realm." Anne replied, "I think it strange that you should attempt to deprive your King of the liberty enjoyed by the meanest of his subjects—that of making sojourn in the country for the benefit of his health. It is, indeed, a novel practice of the age, that subjects should interfere to urge their sovereign to adopt a rule different from that of other men! I shall return to Paris, Messieurs,

at my own good pleasure. I am highly dissatisfied at the disputes, and mutinous attitude of the Chamber, which has presumed to censure actions for which I am responsible only to God, and the King, when years have ripened his judgment. As for MM. de Chavigny, and de Châteauneuf, I have arrested them from good, and pertinent causes. Messieurs, I deem your demands unreasonable, and your so-called assemblies illegal. Take care, and speedily reform, or worse may happen!" Anne pronounced this harangue standing, and with emphasis. Her tone was menacing, and her manner scornful. The President de Mêsmes, nothing daunted, then addressed the princes, summoning them, in the name of the Parliament, to return and take their seats in the Chamber, "as the Companies were resolved to persist in their debates until order had been restored in all departments of the realm." Monsieur replied warmly, that he should not take his place in the Chamber; that the Parliament was too bold; and that the late propositions were treasonable, and audacious. "I will take care that the Queen is obeyed, Messieurs; and will maintain M. le Cardinal, despite of your seditious cabals!" Condé then spoke; with intense anxiety the members dwelt on every syllable falling from his lips. "Messieurs," said he, "I cannot, neither do I desire to respond to your invitation. I will not sanction your disobedience to the commands of the Queen. I obey the Queen, and will perish rather than fail in this my duty." M. de Conty next replied, and simply said, "that he should not obey the Parliament." The Duke de Longueville said that "MM. de la

Cour were going too far; and that if they reflected on the words spoken during their late session, they would be compelled to admit it. He should decline the conference proposed." With a triumphant smile Anne then dismissed the deputies. "*Vouz avez votre reponse, Messieurs,*" * said she. Surrounded by the princes, the natural support of the throne, she again felt herself supreme. Nevertheless, there were bystanders who sympathised in the cause of the Parliament, but who deprecated its violence. The contested article, *de la sureté publique*, was in secret, favoured by many courtiers: there were few who had not at some period in their own persons, or in that of a relative suffered by the power of arbitrary arrest possessed by the sovereign. The younger lords of the court represented in private to M. le Prince, that the Parliament was the only curb to the might of Mazarin; and that he would labour for his own eventual perdition if he suffered himself to be persuaded to annihilate that barrier.

Irresolute, and annoyed, Condé paid his promised visit to Paris, and conferred for some hours with Gondy. After listening to the plausible arguments, and delicate flattery liberally offered, Condé moodily replied, "I see, I understand, Monsieur. Le Mazarin will be the ruin of this realm; but the Parliament goes too fast. If moderate counsels prevailed we should be able to work together. The Parliament is precipitate: if I were also to be precipitate, doubtless I should arrive at my own ends more triumphantly than it would; but my name is

* Aubéry, Hist. du Card. de Mazarin, t. i.; Registres du Parlement, ann. 1648; Hist. du Temps, ann. 1648.

Louis de Bourbon, and I will do nothing to shake the crown! Those devils of square-caps—are they mad? Do they want to force me into a civil war? or to tempt me to strangle them and their bombast, and thus to put above their heads and my own, that raggamuffin Sicilian, who will destroy us all!" Gondy then tried to probe his Royal Highness relative to the suspected project of the Queen, to besiege Paris. Condé turned the discourse, and asked—intending the question as a feeler—whether the Coadjutor thought that the Parliament would accept his mediation, if the Queen condescended to avail herself of such an offer? to which question Gondy made a vague reply.

Meantime Molé and the deputation sent to Ruel returned to the Palais, and made report of their mission. They also notified that they had heard upon good and true authority, including the word of M. le Grand Maitre, that the Count d'Erlach was advancing upon Paris with four thousand troops, as the first instalment of the great army under Turenne; and that M. le Prince de Condé was prepared, by the Queen's order, to chastise their disobedience. All self-possession, and dignity, deserted the majority of the members on these tidings: the noise, imprecations, and confusion became intolerable. In the midst of the uproar Talon advanced to the bar of the house, and attempted to deliver a formal interdiction on the part of the Queen, prohibiting any discussion of the edict of 1617, against foreign ministers. Finding it impossible to gain a hearing, Talon desisted. After some further agitation, and din from the sharp clangour of the bells of the

presidents present, calling to order, the members took their seats. A resolution was then unanimously passed, "that measures should be taken to provide for the safety of the city; and that the Prevôt des Marchands should be instructed to gather in supplies of grain and wheat, for the victualling of Paris: all governors of towns, and commandants of troops being forbidden to present obstacle to this levy, on pain of answering in person for such obstruction: that the burgesses should take up arms; and on the morrow, all other matters being postponed, that the Chambers should deliberate upon the Act of 1617." The Chamber therefore, boldly accepted the challenge offered, despite the more moderate counsels of Molé, who now found it impossible to restrain the fierce passions which he had aided to develop. The alarm of the citizens was increased during the day by the retreat from Paris of all the remaining members of the royal family. The little Monsieur had been left behind convalescent, at the Palais Royal. The anxiety of the Queen was great to get possession of her son, as Monsieur, in the power of the exasperated Parliament, might have been, in their extremity, proclaimed as King. To Beringhen Anne intrusted this delicate mission, as the little duke would certainly not have been permitted openly to pass the barriers. Under pretext of an errand from the Queen, to bring certain rich effects from the Palais Royal, Beringhen proceeded thither in his coach. The child was then wrapped up in shawls, and deposited as a bundle under the back seat of the coach. Monsieur was very small; and being anxious to rejoin his mother, lay as

quiet as a mouse, while the guard at the barrier made a rough examination of the interior of the vehicle, and was thus smuggled out of Paris. The Duchess of Orleans, much to her regret, left her luxurious quarters at the Luxembourg, to join her fretful spouse at Ruel; from thence the royal pair retreated to St. Germain. The young Princess de Condé, and her infant son, were likewise summoned away. Mazarin also did not forget his nieces, who were still inmates of the nunnery of the Val de Grâce. They quitted Paris for Ruel, from whence, soon afterwards, the Queen confided them to the care of Sœur Jeanne, the sister of Séguier, and a noted Carmelite nun of Pontoise, whom Anne often visited. Their unfortunate position entailed on these fair young girls opprobrious epithets, and great personal danger. In one of the Mazarinades, daily shouted in the streets, the lines occur—

> "Paris jure de mettre en cent pièces,
> Tous ceux qui logeront les Nièces!"

So it appears that they made their escape from the capital not a day too soon.

The hesitation of Condé to espouse the Queen's cause did not escape the keen penetration of Mazarin: carefully informed, through the medium of his well-trained spies, of every interview granted, or visit paid by the prince, he warned the Queen not to be too sanguine in her trust of M. le Prince; or to believe that he would implicitly execute her behests. Anne passionately deprecated the possibility, that Condé could favour, or even tolerate the interference of *ces gens de*

robe in state affairs. Mazarin, more wily, truly appreciated the impetuous, ambitious, and self-asserting character of Condé; and was well informed of the complacency with which he received the adulation of his followers, the young cavaliers of the court, who began to be distinguished by the *sobriquet*, of *petits maîtres*. These tendered the flattering unction, that pre-eminent in arms, he ought to reign despotically over the mind of the Queen, and the policy of the realm. Anne nevertheless, assembled her council, and proposed to put an end to "*les assassinats contre l'autorité royale*," by besieging Paris. She observed, that one thing must be resolved, either to accept the Declaration de la Chambre St. Louis *simple et pure*, or to declare open war against these domestic rebels. With emotion, she then recapitulated her attempts at conciliation, and the gross insults to which she had been personally exposed. She then appealed to Condé to earn the eternal gratitude of the King by vindicating his authority, and delivering the sceptre from the rude grasp of traitors. Monsieur murmured something not very intelligible; but recovering himself, in his usual fluent verbiage recommended "patience and forbearance, as MM. de la Cour, penetrated by the Queen's goodness, might return to their allegiance." Anne turned impatiently to Condé. The Prince began by expatiating on his zeal for the royal cause; adding, "nevertheless he could not undertake the siege of a city like Paris with the 4000 men under Erlach; therefore, until fresh reinforcements came up, he opined that it would be better to dissimulate. Moreover, he feared that the breaking

out of civil war might retard the signing of the treaty of peace; and thus the realm would lose the benefit of the late victories. For these causes, after mature deliberation, he counselled her Majesty to attempt conciliatory overtures; the which, he would himself gladly undertake, if agreeable to her Majesty."

No member of the council deemed it requisite to show more valour than M. de Condé. M. de Brienne said, "that he agreed with Monseigneur that the time, until the advance of more troops, might be profitably employed in trying to negotiate a peace; that the Articles of the Chambre St. Louis were prejudicial to the royal authority, so that it would be better to lose part of the kingdom, than again to ratify them. The Queen, nevertheless, must bend to necessity—therefore, he advised that her Majesty should grant all, until opportunity occurred to recall unwelcome concessions." Mazarin declared that the opinion of M. de Brienne was his own. The Queen however, angry and dissatisfied, withdrew from the council-chamber, still persisting, that then was the time to chastise the insolence of the people of Paris. A few days elapsed, and Anne agreed to the proposal, and accepted the offer of mediation made by M. de Condé. The Cardinal's eloquence had prevailed: his subtle reasoning convinced her against her will that Condé, new to the position, and persuaded by M. de Châtillon, had not yet realised the pretensions and arrogance, of the Companies. In time the haughty temper, and royal blood of M. le Prince would be roused, and he would enter with alacrity into her projects. It was, therefore, but to

wait, to temporise, to grant all, with the intent of withdrawing every concession at a seasonable opportunity. Perhaps, even, no composition might be attainable; and M. le Prince, disgusted at the familiarity, and homely manners of the counsellors, would abruptly break off the conference, and insist upon obedience from the Chamber.

Condé, therefore, and the Duc d'Orleans wrote letters to the Parliament, expressing sorrow at the unhappy position of affairs, and offering their mediation between the Chamber, and the King. Already the Parliament had relaxed in its daring defiance: out of 158 members, 67 had voted to make concession to the Queen, so as to save Paris from siege and desolation; while the debate upon the Act of 1617, against foreign ministers of state, had been withdrawn. The offer made by the princes, therefore, was accepted with satisfaction. The place of conference was the Château Neuf, of St. Germain-en-Laye, a palace ceded by the crown to Monsieur. Endless were the journeyings and retreats, the debates and squabbles, the reprimands and excuses, and the audiences with the Queen, with Mazarin, and with Séguier. On the 14th October, nevertheless, all the articles, previously debated, agreed upon by the Chambre St. Louis, and forced upon the reluctant Queen, were again confirmed, and accepted. Upon the article *de la sureté publique* Anne alone, showed herself as before, inexorable. The Parliament rejected all compromise, declaring that the one exception annulled the value of all the remaining articles. The Duc d'Orleans, weary of these contests, proposed that the question of finance should be first settled, which perchance might

give opportunity for a happier frame of mind in the Queen. M. de Viole, rough, and matter-of-fact, rudely said, "No, no! *préalablement à toute affaire, l'article de la sureté!*" Condé, who during the course of the conferences had been lost in amaze at the audacity of *ces barbons*, their uncouth manners, and unpolished speech, here started from his seat, and burst out into an irrepressible explosion of rage. He exclaimed "that such pretensions and obstinacy, were incredible; and that in consenting to these conferences he had not expected to be exposed to such discourses. That every man should know his place, and that such a word as *préalablement* ought not to be suffered in the mouth of a subject. If M. Viole meant to insinuate that the Queen should be compelled to restore M. de Chavigny to liberty, he would soon manifest his opinion of such insolence, and vindicate the dignity of the court, and its princes!" Intimidated, Viole excused himself, explaining that he understood the word *préalable* to express only "very humble entreaties." Condé, however, quitted the room, muttering the offensive word, with oaths. Nevertheless, the persistence of the Parliament on this article did not displease the Prince: his family annals abounded with instances of the miseries occasioned by this power of arbitrary arrest by the sovereign.

Driven by the persuasions of Mazarin, and the importunities of the princes, Anne so far relaxed as to consent that no member of the Parliament of Paris, or of the other courts, when arrested by order of the sovereign, should remain in prison more than twenty-four hours before he was publicly arraigned; but she reserved, in

all other cases, the royal right intact, as regarded the princes, or lords of the court, who might incur her resentment. This compromise was indignantly rejected.* Anne then proposed that six months might elapse after the arrest of a prisoner of state, ere the said prisoner was presented before his natural judges—then a period of three months was suggested by Monsieur. The Parliament, however, stood firmly to the point—its immediate object being the instant release of Chavigny, and de Châteauneuf. "The ordinance of twenty-four hours, or the old prerogatives unmutilated!" exclaimed Blancménil, vehemently; "the life of no troublesome prisoner would be safe, if six months were permitted to remain between arrest, and trial. Not one of Richelieu's victims would have survived, if the said minister had been compelled to render him up to public justice after the expiration of six months!"

Wearied at last with the conflict, Anne granted the article *de la sureté publique* without restriction. When the Queen consented to yield against her will, there was a persistency in her manner uncomfortable enough to the persons interested in her acquiescence. In this case, her compliance seemed frank and gracious; for her Majesty told Molé, that not only was she resolved to adopt the Articles of La Chambre St. Louis, but that she permitted the Chamber to draw up that Declaration for her signature; promising to accept the interpretation of all the said articles, as did MM. de la Cour.

* "Ce n'etait pas leur sûreté qu'ils avoient en vue, mais la sûreté publique celle des princes, et des grands, comme de tous les sujets du roi; afin que ni les uns, ni les autres, pussent être poursuivis et emprisonnès que par les voies de la justice," said the President Mathieu de Molé.

The Chamber, jubilant, was too vain of its triumph to mark the signs, and portents, hostile to its victory. The Queen was deemed vanquished; and Mazarin being defeated, would hereafter become an easy victim.

Anne's final resolution was notified to her council, October 22nd. She excused her concession on the plea "that she had yielded at the entreaty of the Princes, and considering the present necessity of the realm." Anne, however, did not spare her reproaches; and even reprimanded Mazarin harshly for his want of spirit, and conduct. Séguier alone, that most timid of all the ministers, had constantly applauded the Queen's assertion "that she would rather die, than yield the King's authority." So unusual a valour caused it to be reported that the Chancellor had been privately instructed by the Princes to second all her Majesty's proposals, that she might have at least the comfort of one assenting voice in debate. But if a coalition of the Princes of the Blood—Condé, Conty, and Longueville, with the Duke of Orleans—had combined to foil Anne's intention to punish the rebellious capital, Mazarin and the Queen, on their side, resolved, dissimulated, and acted with equal craft. Anne had the firm soul, Mazarin the keen brain; combined, therefore, they doubted not ultimately to triumph over all cabals. So far was Mazarin's dissimulation carried, that he feigned despair at the displeasure of his royal mistress, "because he had conscientiously voted in council for measures of conciliation;" and he actually employed Monsieur, and the Prince de Condé to intercede for him! Anne, at her *coucher*, on the evening

after her concession had been announced, exclaimed, "The Cardinal may say what he pleases, but I shall never change my resolve!" "Madame, what is then your resolve?" asked Madame de Motteville. "To do just contrary to that which he now counsels! We may not however believe that M. le Cardinal wishes the ruin of the King. He cannot do more for him now. I am angry at him; but he really is very good!" Mazarin, therefore, publicly appeared to be in disgrace with the Queen; and so thoroughly did he pretend to enter into the views of Condé, that the Prince distinguished him with friendly favours,—all which, the subtle prelate received with expressions of profound gratitude.

On the 24th of October, Molé, and twenty-four deputies arrived at St. Germain with the Declaration, which conferred constitutional privileges on the French people, and laid it before the Queen in the presence of the princes. Anne's heart again failed her; she took the pen handed to her by Mazarin, but, throwing it down, rose and retired from the table, to hide her tears. Mazarin then proposed a brief delay, and the alteration of a sentence or two, which he said was hardly respectful to the crown. Molé with emotion replied, "that unless the Declaration was signed during the course of the day, or if textual alterations were made, such was the temper of the Chamber, that the position of her Majesty's minister would not be improved!" When Mazarin spoke of textual alterations in the document, which had been wholly drawn by the Parliament, the Queen made a sharp gesture of dissent, and immediately returning to the table, signed the Declaration, saying

pointedly, "To-morrow, Messieurs, this your own Act shall be presented to the Chamber by M. Sainctot, with every usual formality, on behalf of the King, my son." "The Queen accepted this Declaration with incredible pain. She suffered herself to be over persuaded by her minister, who in spite of himself urged her to this concession. Many persons therefore believed that the Cardinal had been deceived, and that he feared the Princes; having been told that the steady denials of the Queen were attributed to his agency; therefore, that a decree was about to be launched against him by the Parliament. He therefore thought that to temporize was expedient."

When the edict was signed, Condé and the Duke of Orleans were radiant with joy, and expected thenceforth to rule with authority. Had they not placed the Chamber under the deepest obligation by their mediation? and had they not rescued Paris from a siege? Their final and triumphant act of procuring the royal sanction for all the articles *de la Chambre St. Louis*, including that of *la sureté publique*, conferred, moreover, the additional benefit of putting a stop to the riotous scenes daily occurring in the capital, which were believed to be provoked by the Coadjutor de Gondy. "Pity me, Madame," said the Queen sadly, in reply to the condolences of her faithful de Motteville, "rather because I have failed in my present attempt to avenge the King. Had I succeeded, no one in future would have had it in his power to hurt me; neither should I have continued an object of compassion!"

In the heart of Anne of Austria the deepest resentment glowed against the Prince de Condé, and although

this anger was for a time mollified by subsequent service, she never trusted him again. From thenceforth the power of Mazarin was riveted: despite the clamour of the people, the hate of the Princes, and the jealousies of the courtiers, she clung to him with all the strength of her energetic, and inflexible will. Other interests, other policy, other influences, rather than the spirit of unqualified devotion to her person, and Regency, swayed the Princes. They had family ties, and partialities; they might even during the King's minority pretend to a share of her power and state; their counsels might, and did flow from motives of personal aggrandizement, or vehement partizanship. Mazarin was entirely her own; aggrandized and sustained by her regard and power; dependent for his own fortunes on her welfare, and pleasure: he was emphatically *ce ministre à moi*, for which Anne of Austria had on the commencement of her Regency abandoned all her old friends.

Meantime, the riots in Paris ceased; but the Parliament still murmured. On the 28th of October, deputies again proceeded to St. Germain to regulate the question of finance, so ardently desired by the Queen; and without which no real pacification could be obtained. By Anne's command, M. de la Meilleraye, comptroller of finance, laid before the deputies a statement of the past receipts, and expenditure of the crown, the revenue derived from the royal domains excepted. Ten millions of livres had been already remitted to the people by the relaxation of *la taille*; and by the renunciation by the crown of all arrears owing from that impost. The national revenue was therefore computed at eighty-two millions. Of this sum forty-

seven millions was consumed by the interest paid on loans, "*les rentes constituées;*" and by the salaries of officers of state, and other inevitable expenses. There remained, therefore, a surplus of thirty-five millions. But the expenditure since the commencement of the war had exceeded that surplus by twenty-four millions. It was proposed, therefore, to supply this yearly deficit by the suppression of pensions, and the diminution of salaries; the appropriation of one half-year's dividend due upon *les rentes assises sur les tailles,** and by the confiscation of four months' dividend due to the holders of stock in *les Gabelles.* These odious and fraudulent expedients being proposed and sanctioned by the Parliament of Paris, were submitted to in gloomy silence; the sufferers being comforted by the assurance, that the measure was temporary; and that at the conclusion of the war, no extraordinary revenue being required, pecuniary debits would fall back into their ordinary channels. In equity, and expediency, every one of the financial measures proposed by Mazarin—*la toisé, le tarif,* the fine he had proposed to levy on all purchasers of magisterial offices, and for all who availed themselves of the sovereign grace on entering their payments of *le droit annuel*—seemed preferable. The Parliament, however, thought that it had secured

* The taille was raised in the most oppressive manner on the peasantry and small farmers; for instance, the minister of finance sent word to a certain village, or small market town, the amount of *taille,* or land-tax, which was to be paid into the district bank of the receiver-general. Thereupon, the small proprietors elected two neighbours, who proceeded to apportion by their own unguided will, what fraction of the tax each landholder should pay. No appeal from their decision was permitted, so that much oppression was endured; and the system opened a wide scope for the indulgence of hate and private vengeance.

a great victory, a great guarantee against future arbitrary government, by the recognition of its sole right to vote taxes; of having extorted from the crown a bill of Habeas Corpus; and of having obtained freedom to debate on matters of state. The Chamber, on the whole, had fought with moderation; the members had advocated glorious principles, and with success, as it then appeared. But one element was wanting—that of legality. The Parliament of Paris usurped functions never granted or contemplated in its original charters —powers which in the French code alone appertained to the States-General, that august assembly, composed of the lords spiritual and temporal, and of deputies elected by every town, and province of the realm.

Another oversight also, proved fatal to the hardly-won privileges of the members. The Parliament had not the support, the assent, or the co-operation of the great barons of the realm, whose power was then in abeyance. The lords deemed it monstrous, ludicrous and unbecoming, that lawyers, judges, presidents, and counsellors of the courts, "*les habits rouges*," should sit in debate on state affairs; or possess the right to control the sovereign prerogative of a monarch, the lineal representative of St. Louis.

END OF VOL. I.

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